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ROYAL SEALS IN ANCIENT ISRAEL : ARCHÆOLOGICAL EVIDENCE *

About 550 "royal" jar-handle stamps are now known. Of all the excavated sites in the Holy Land, Tell ed-Duweir (generally identified with ancient Lachish) produced by far the most remarkable collection of these much-discussed objects. Indeed, about 325 were discovered there by the Wellcome-Marston Archæological Expedition to the Near East, and 310 of them are available for study at the Institute of Archæology, University of London. These specimens may greatly help to solve a few problems of Biblical archæology and epigraphy.

The Finds.

On 19th January, 1869, General Sir (then Captain) Charles Warren discovered at Jerusalem, at the south-eastern angle of the Ḥarām area, at the depth of 52 feet, eight jar-handles, of which one was unmarked and seven contained a hitherto unknown stamp, consisting of a two-winged figure and an inscription in Early Hebrew character, which at the time was considered to be Phœnician.

It was thought that the inscriptions might be translated *Of the king of Sōkoh, Of the king of Zīph, Of the king of Shat*, or else *Of the king Sōkoh, Of the king Zēpha, Of the king Shat* : thus considering the names either as place-names or as proper names. The stamps, at any rate, were assigned to a pre-Israelite period, in which Canaan according to the Book of Joshua was under the rule of petty local kings ; and in case we had to deal with proper names, the hope was expressed that some further information might come to light regarding the newly-found personages. However, even at this first discovery, it was hoped that some explanation might be found of the difficult passage of 1 Chron. iv, 23. *הָמָּה הַיּוֹצְרִים וַיֵּשְׁבּוּ בְּטַעִים וַיְגִדְרָה עִם - הַמֶּלֶךְ בְּמִלְאֲכָתוֹ יֵשְׁבוּ שָׁם*. The Authorized Version translates this passage as follows : " These were the potters and those that dwelt among plants and hedges : there they dwelt with the king for his work." The words *neṭa'im* and *gedērah* are now generally considered as place-names and various sites have been suggested for their identification.

Thirty years later, 1898-1900, during the excavations of some tells in south-western Judah (Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi, Tell Zakariyeh, Tell ej-Judeideh, and Tell Sandahannah), F. J. Bliss and R. A. S. Macalister unearthed seventy-seven other "royal" stamps ; three more were found on Tell ed-Duweir. As a result of these finds the following facts were established : (1) Each "royal" stamp contained a symbol with either two or four wings. (2) The inscription on it contained one of the following four place-names : Hebron, Zīph, Sōkoh, or MMSHT. (3) The position of the debris in which the handles were found appeared to show that they could not belong to a pre-Israelite period : such a suggestion, indeed, should never have been seriously considered either from the epigraphic or from the archæological point of view.

* This paper (mainly based on the study of objects discovered at Tell ed-Duweir by the Wellcome-Marston Archæological Expedition to the Near East) was read to the Twenty-first International Congress of Orientalists, Paris, at the meeting of its Second Section ("Semitic Studies") on 27th July, 1948. The meeting was presided over by Professor G. R. Driver. In the discussion which followed, Professor W. F. Albright (invited by the Chairman to express his opinion about the vexed matter), "agreed heartily on all essential points in this paper, and added some archæological and epigraphic details confirming D.'s chronology and explaining his own reasons for beginning the series about the end of the eighth century or a little later" (from the *Transactions of the Congress*).

In the following years, many more "royal" stamps were unearthed, at Gezer, Jericho, Tell el-Fül, Tell en-Naşbeh, Khirbet eṭ-Ṭubeiqah, Tell Beit Mirsim, Beth Shemesh, and particularly at Tell ed-Duweir (see above).

The Jar-handles.

The handles bearing "royal" stamps are made of rather coarse clay, usually containing minute particles of quartz, the surface being red, light red, brown, yellow, dark grey, according to the intensity of firing. The relatively few specimens, which had been subjected to the severest firing, show a red or a dark grey colour all through the section of fracture. A few specimens have their surface blackened by fire; they had been affected by the fire which destroyed the Hebrew city. All the handles show a more or less pronounced rib, and many specimens have a double ridge, which in general is deep and extends over the whole length of the handle. The stamps are as a rule impressed on the upper part of the handle, sometimes upside down.

No complete jar with "royal" stamps has ever been found, but the excavators of Tell ed-Duweir have been able to reconstruct two jars, one bearing "royal" stamps and the other a private stamp. The "royal" jar was found in a room of a house or a shop. It is stamped on each of the four handles with the four-winged symbol and the inscription *la-melekh Hebron*. The form of the jar is ovoid, and the potting extremely skilful, though the jar is utilitarian. Its capacity to the base of the neck must have been 9·969 Imperial Standard Gallons, or 45·33 litres.

The Symbols.

Concerning the symbols, the "royal" stamps fall under two groups; one with an oval impression containing a symbol with four wings, the other showing a symbol with two wings. In the latter instance the body of the figure is in most cases at right angles to the axis of the handle (that is, its head is at the top and the wings at right and left; sometimes upside down), but in a few instances the stamp is impressed in the width of the handle (i.e. showing one wing upwards the other downwards). The four-winged symbol is generally impressed longitudinally (in other words, the head of the figure is at the top and the wings are at right and left); the upper wings of the figure curve upwards and the lower wings curve downwards. In the two-winged symbol the wings always curve upwards.

Some specimens showing the two-winged symbol have, in addition, a stamp consisting of two concentric circles (in a few cases, only one circle) with, or without, a central dot. In one instance these circles were twice impressed, and the two-winged symbol became almost obliterated.

The group of the four-winged type can be divided into two classes, one showing the figure treated more realistically, with greater detail in the execution of its body and a sufficiently well-shaped head. In the second class the symbol appears more conventionalized; the body, terminating in a zigzag, is summarily treated, and its head wedge-shaped. The stamps belonging to the first category show clearly that the four-winged symbol represents the ordinary Egyptian flying scarab or beetle, and it only confirms—if there is any need for confirmation in view of the numerous scarabs found in the various Palestinian excavations, and of the early Hebrew scarab seals—what has long been established, that the Egyptian scarab was very common in early Israel; indeed, it was much less common in Egypt herself.

The identification of the two-winged symbol (which is to be seen on some modern Israel stamps) is much more difficult, mainly because there are no specimens with naturalistic treatment, the majority of them being, instead, highly conventionalized; only a very few specimens show some details, but

even these are uncertain. However, the figure has a small body, with a wedge-shaped head, a wedge-shaped tail, and, as mentioned, two upward-curving wings. The following five main theories have been suggested for the identification of this figure, but the first two may be ruled out. The figure represents (1) a god—a development of the winged disc; (2) a winged scarabæus; (3) a simple winged solar disc (this symbol originated in Egypt, but was also used in the symbolism of the Assyrians and other ancient peoples of the Near East); (4) a flying or winged scroll, the central cross-piece being a cylinder bulging at both ends like a roll; (5) a bird. The theory number (3) was suggested fifty years ago by the French orientalist Clermont-Ganneau, was upheld by Bliss, and is still accepted by many eminent scholars. McCown sees here, in addition, “either Hittite influence or mere naturalism contributing the upturned tips to the wings.” Number (4) is upheld by Albright and other scholars, and there seems to be much in favour of this opinion; the biblical *megillah* ‘*apha* (Zech. v, 1 f.) “flying roll” comes easily to mind. Number (5): this theory was actually discussed seventy-five years ago and has been recently upheld by the excavators of Tell ed-Duweir. According to some scholars, a few specimens appear with a kind of beak (sometimes turned left with a top-knot on the right), and others have the “feathers” (?) of the tail clearly indicated. A kind of compromise-suggestion has been made by McCown: “The Palestinian seal-maker must have thought that he was making a bird of some kind, although his original inspiration may have been Assyrian.”

Leaving the problem of the identification of the two-winged symbol still open I should like to suggest that the complete change of the symbol of the “royal” stamps was due to Josiah (639–608 B.C.), the great religious reformer, who destroyed the foreign cults, eliminated the abominations and immoralities introduced by his grandfather, Manasseh (686–641), and led a great religious revival in ancient Israel. I do not think that I am going too far in assuming that Josiah, in his determination to stamp out all pagan cults and symbols and to free his country from all foreign influence, having first ordered the most thoroughgoing demolition of all idolatrous altars and symbols not only in the Temple itself but throughout the whole country, may also have ordered a significant change in the official seal of the royal potteries, replacing the scarabæus by a bird, or even perhaps, as Albright suggests, by the representation of the winged Scroll of the Law. It is worth remembering in this connection that the discovery of a “Law scroll” (2 Kings xxii, 8; 2 Chron. xxxiv, 15) during repairs to the Temple led to Josiah’s drastic reforms. My hypothesis would perfectly agree with Albright’s suggestion, based on archæological and epigraphic grounds, to ascribe this group of the “royal” stamps to the reign of Josiah and his successors.¹

¹ The attribution of the introduction of the two-winged figure to Josiah may perhaps serve to illuminate an interesting historical point.

The discovery of the remarkable number of eighty-six “royal” jar-handle stamps at Tell en-Naşbeh offers many open problems. As McCown points out (*Tell en-Naşbeh*, i, 1947, p. 160), it seems hardly possible that so large a number would find their way across the border to Tell en-Naşbeh if it belonged to the Northern Kingdom. In his opinion, therefore, T.N., whether it was Mişpah or not, must have belonged to the southern and not to the Northern Kingdom, or to the Assyrian province of Samaria, and the boundary probably ran between Tell en-Naşbeh and Bethel (where no “royal” jar-handle stamps have been discovered). He, however, admits the possibility that T.N. could have fallen to Judah after the Assyrian capture of Samaria. On the other hand, according to Albright, “T.N. was located in the Northern Kingdom and in the Assyrian province, not in Judah.” My suggestion may solve this vexed problem: If the jars with the two-winged symbol actually belong to Josiah’s time, and if we consider that, whilst at Tell ed-Duweir, for instance, the jar-handle stamps belonging to this class constitute only 14.56 per cent of the total of the “royal” stamps, they constitute 82.56 per cent at Tell en-Naşbeh, it is reasonable to assume that the latter fortress was occupied by Josiah in his drive against the Samaritan province (2 Kings xxiii, 19), and that it became later a Judæan stronghold.

The Inscriptions.

The "royal" jar-handle stamps generally contain an inscription of two lines, one above the symbol and the other below it. The upper line consists of the letters *l-m-l-k*, i.e. *le-melekh*, or rather *la-melekh*, meaning "to the King", or "of the King", or "(belonging) to the King", or simply "royal". The lower line contains one of the following four words: *h-b-r-n*, *z-p* or *z-y-p*, *sh-w-k-h*, and *m-m-sh-t*, that is to say, the name of one of the following three cities, Hebron, Ziph, and Sökoh, and an unknown place-name MMSHT.¹

In a very few cases of the two-winged type (in specimens found at Jerusalem, Gezer, Tell el-Fül, and Tell en-Naşbeh, but not at Tell ed-Duweir, where the majority of the "royal" stamps were found), the city-name MMSHT or (in one case, at Tell en-Naşbeh) the name Ziph occupies the place where *la-melekh* is usually found, the lower register being a blank.

On a certain number of stamps the town-name is entirely wanting, owing to fracture, disintegration, or, chiefly (it must be emphasized), imperfect impression. In some of these specimens, relatively very few, the upper line is also gone, nothing remaining except the more or less distinct symbol. Each of the other specimens show traces of one of the aforementioned place-names; while very often a given name can be made out clearly, in many instances only one or two letters are preserved, but their position suggests identification with one of the four city-names.

The Script.

The character used in these small inscriptions is the Early Hebrew alphabet, so called to distinguish it from the "square" Hebrew alphabet, which was the parent of the modern Hebrew script. The "square" Hebrew script is called in the Talmudic literature *ketabh ashshuri*, "Assyrian (Syrian (?), Aramaic) script," whereas the Early Hebrew is termed *ketabh 'ibhri*, "Hebrew script": the term "Phoenician", which even eminent scholars apply to this script, is a misnomer. The importance of the "royal" stamps from the epigraphic point of view is not to be underestimated, although they contain no more than five words. My suggestion to divide these stamps into three

¹ For the identifications suggested for these city-names, as well as for the earlier bibliography in general, see DIRINGER, *Iscrizioni antico-ebraiche palestinesi*, 1934, pp. 148-150. Regarding the unknown name of MMSHT two recent opinions should be mentioned; according to Albright (*Tell Beit Mirsim*, iii, *Annual of the Amer. Schools of Orient. Res.*, xxi-xxii, 1943, p. 75), MMSHT was not in the Negeb at Kurnub, ancient Mampsis, as commonly supposed, but somewhere in the north of Judah, and "it must have been in a district which produced an abundance of wine and oil"; Albright, therefore, "should provisionally locate it in the region between Gezer, Zorah, and Ajalon. The name is doubtless the same as that of Mampsis . . .". In the *Bull. of the Amer. Schools of Orient. Res.*, No. 109, February, 1948 (as well as in his earlier paper presented to the annual meeting of the Society of Bibl. Liter. and Exegesis, 27th December, 1945: see *Journ. of Bibl. Liter.*, 1945, p. iv), H. L. Ginsberg "combined the grapheme *mmšt* with the Hebrew word *memšālā/memšelet* 'government' and took this to be an administrative designation of the city-state of Jerusalem; which as Alt has shown, was only united with Judah through the person of its Davidic ruler". Ginsberg further suggested: (1) MMSHT could be read **mamšatt* < **mamšalt* > *memšelet/memšālā*. (2) MMSHT "may be a purely graphic abbreviation of *mmšlt*, i.e. *memšālōt* 'domain' (see Ps. cxiv, 2); in which case the latter will be a designation of the city-state of Jerusalem, which doubtless included all the Benjaminite territory wrested from Israel by Kings Rehoboam, Abijah, and Asa". This suggestion, however ingenious, is not very probable: it seems to me a "string of conjectures". There is no evidence that Alt is right in considering Jerusalem a city-state, and an inscription "Of the King—Government" would be rather curious; if Jerusalem was a city-state she certainly did not call herself "government", especially in connection with the term "Of the King": in the "Lachish Letters" she is called "the City", what is quite obvious. At any rate, much more evidence is needed to prove such an important and unusual contention.

groups, based on epigraphic characteristics, has been accepted by two of the most distinguished students of Palestinian archæology (Professors Albright and McCown), and I believe that this classification may now be considered as established. These epigraphic groups coincide with the aforementioned typological classes: (i) naturalistic scarab type, (ii) stylized scarab type, and (iii) two-winged type.

I should like to add, however, that there appears to be such an epigraphic cleavage between the first and the second class that, in my opinion, a complete specimen of class (ii) may serve as *typical* of the evolution of some Early Hebrew letters. Indeed, in the inscriptions of the first class, all the letters are long and thin, and partly irregular; whereas the letters of the second class are generally more squat, wider, and shorter. In the latter class the main stems of the letters *lamed*, *mem*, *nun*, and *pe* are curved and rounded at the bottom; in the *heth* the vertical strokes go beyond the horizontal ones; on the whole, the letters, much more accurate and regular than those of class (i), may be considered as typical representatives of the classical Early Hebrew alphabet.

The main epigraphic difference between class (ii) and (iii)—the latter showing still further development—is that in some specimens of class (iii) the short vertical prongs of the head of the *mem* are not joined to the main stem, and in any case this letter shows a more recent development than the *mem* of the second class.

These general remarks mainly concern the Hebron and Ziph series, because no specimens of the Sôkoh and MMSHT series present the characteristics of class (i). As to the Ziph series, it should be added: (1) In specimens of class (i) the third letter of the upper register bears a correction, and the lower register is written in "mirror writing"; in the former case the inexperienced craftsman had probably first incised a *kaph* which he then altered to a *lamed*, but it is uncertain whether the "mirror writing" is also due to want of experience, which is very probable, or whether it was done on purpose. (2) The lower register of the first class contains three letters, *z-y-p*, while class (ii) has no *y*, and the third class contains the *y*, although it seems to be missing in some specimens. (3) In class (ii) both words are followed by a dot.

The Sôkoh stamps are interesting for the following features: (1) In class (ii) the *he* is very oblique and—what is unique—it has four horizontal strokes, of which the uppermost goes beyond the main stem. (2) In class (iii) the *waw* is characteristic; it consists of a vertical stem, which is curved at the top, towards the left, and is cut by a hook; there is an elegant ligature between *kaph* and *he*; the latter has three horizontal strokes, which are generally not of the same length, and the upper one does not go beyond the vertical stem; as in the Ziph series, each word is followed by a dot.

At Tell ed-Duweir, only one specimen of the MMSHT series belongs to the second class, and in it only two *mem* of MMSHT are still visible, but they are sufficient to assign this stamp to class (ii). In class (iii) the *mem* appears in different forms. The city-name is sometimes followed by a dot, but it is uncertain whether a dot was also in the upper register.

Chronological Problems.

The dating of the "royal" stamps has been a matter of great controversy; the most various dates have been suggested, including the fourteenth century B.C., on one hand, and the beginning of the Christian era, on the other. While these two extremes can be ruled out, and there is no serious scholar who would uphold them, the attribution of the stamps to the times of Solomon or to the ninth century B.C. is also unlikely. Until recently, many eminent scholars

thought that the "royal" stamps belong to the Persian or even the Hellenistic period.¹

Nowadays, however, the majority of scholars agree that these stamps must belong to the period of the monarchy of Judah. The late Professor W. F. Badé wrote in 1930:² "Practically all the jar-handle stamps were found in the II and I Iron Age levels. Unless a closer study of our detailed records of the ceramic context should oblige me to modify my present conclusions, these jar-handle inscriptions belong to the period between 900 and 600 B.C." All the scholars who took part in the latest excavations of Palestinian sites seem to agree with this conclusion.

The exact dating, however, is not easy, as nothing in the archæological strata where these jar handles were discovered allows any exact archæological conclusions. Indeed, Miss Olga Tufnell (of the Wellcome-Marston Expedition), informs me that the archæological evidence is most unhelpful; the pottery exhibits those gradations of ware which are normal for the late pre-exilic period, and the technique appears to be uniform throughout the series. Still, in Miss Tufnell's opinion, it can be said that the "royal" stamps seem to be exclusive to Level III, but as uncertainty remains whether this level should be dated to the seventh or eighth century B.C., it is the epigraphic style of the Hebrew letters which decides the issue. It is, thus, the usual vicious circle.

I may add that we are now expecting the results of a chemical analysis of the jar handles. Dr. Joep, of the University at Oxford, who was very willing to examine them spectographically, has informed us that the results were so uncertain when dealing with clays, which vary in the same bed, that he felt a heavy analysis would be more useful to us. On his advice and with his introduction we went to Dr. K. C. Dunham, of the Petrological Department of the Geological Survey, who kindly informed us that he is ready to help us, although he rather doubts whether his results will satisfy us. However, he will do his best, and we are grateful to him for his help.

On the basis of various archæological and epigraphic data, Albright suggests the following dates for the three aforementioned classes: class (i), 714-686 B.C., i.e. Hezekiah's time; class (ii), 686-641 B.C., Manasseh; class (iii), 639-589 B.C., Josiah and his successors. On the whole, I am in favour of Albright's dating, which is not contradicted by the archæological data of Tell en-Naşbeh and Tell ed-Duweir, and seems to be confirmed by the archæological evidence of Tell Beit Mirsim. On the other hand, in view of the epigraphic evidence, i.e. the cleavage between the styles of writing of classes (i) and (ii), I should not assign the former to a later period than the eighth century B.C., leaving out of consideration a few specimens which may be regarded as transitional between class (i) and class (ii). Unfortunately, this further classification is not only difficult, but also very uncertain. However, in four or five examples from Tell ed-Duweir, the scarab symbol seems to be only partly stylized, and the inscription slightly more evolved than in class (i), but much

¹ R. A. S. Macalister, who formerly assigned them to the ninth or eighth century B.C., wrote in 1912 (*The Excavation of Gezer*, ii, p. 210): "I now see, from fuller experience of stratification, that I dated them far too early; and—somewhat against my own prepossessions—I have been forced by a consideration of the context in which they are found, to the conclusion that those scholars are right who on palæographical grounds assign them to about the Persian Period." And further, "it seems to show that the *melek* of the inscription, whoever he may be, is not the King of Judah—though I am not wholly convinced that we cannot date them to the very end of the Hebrew monarchy, in which case the seal with the inscription of the king omitted might belong to the years immediately following the fall of the last king of the dynasty." S. A. Cook (see, for instance, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1925, pp. 91 and 100) was of the same opinion.

² *Palestine Exploration Fund Quart. Stat.*, 1930, p. 14.

less than in class (ii). These specimens, if they actually form a distinct subgroup, may perhaps be assigned to the beginning of the seventh century B.C., i.e. to the latter part of Hezekiah's reign.

Albright's attribution of class (ii) to Manasseh's time (686-641 B.C.) agrees with my epigraphic evidence. Moreover, concerning class (iii), if my suggestion that the change of the symbol may be attributed to the religious reforms of Josiah is right, it will chronologically coincide with Albright's dating, which (as already mentioned) is based on epigraphic and archaeological grounds. In this connection it would be reasonable to assign the introduction of the new class to the latter part of Josiah's reign, i.e. roughly to 615-610 B.C.

My conclusions are partly based on a comparison of the styles of writing employed in the three classes of the "royal" stamps, on one hand, and in the Siloam inscription on the other. I have always maintained¹ that the epigraphic elements are, at present, not sufficient for a *sure* and exact dating of Early Hebrew inscriptions, and that it is extremely dangerous to compare inscriptions of different classes and of different territories. Now, for all practical purposes, we can consider the "royal" stamps and the Siloam inscription as belonging to the same class, written by the same kind of people, living and educated in the same territory, and perhaps having, roughly speaking, the same kind of schooling.

The generally accepted interpretation of the Siloam inscription is that it refers to the operations of Hezekiah, as recorded in the books of Kings (2 Kings xx, 20) and Chronicles (2 Chron. xxxii, 30), thus belonging to c. 700 B.C. In my opinion there is nothing more instructive in the history of the Early Hebrew writing than a comparison between the individual letters of the various types of the stamps and of the Siloam inscription, the latter occupying an intermediate position between class (i) and (ii), and thus enabling us to consider class (iii) as a further development of the monumental type of Early Hebrew writing. Note, for instance, the curve of the tail of *kaph*, *mem*, *nun*, and *pe*, the head of *mem*, the form of *beth* and *zayin* (tall and thin in class (i), short and squat in class (ii), and even more so in class (iii)), and the lower stroke of *beth*. The order of development seems to me so clear that I do not hesitate to assign class (i) to the late eighth century, class (ii) to the seventh century, and class (iii) to the late seventh and the early sixth century B.C.

Interpretation.

The "royal" stamps present many other problems, including those connected with the interpretation of the inscriptions. The word *la-melekh*, "to the King," "for the King," "belonging to the King," or simply "royal" is compared by Charles H. Inge, formerly of the Wellcome-Marston Expedition, with modern English expressions, such as "Royal Potteries" or "Imperial Standard Gallon". It may also be translated "On His Majesty's Service", OHMS.

The names Hebron, Sōkoh, Zīph, and MMSHT are probably place-names, and they are generally considered as such. R. A. S. Macalister is practically alone in considering them as names of men rather than of places.

Fifty years ago the English orientalist Sayce suggested that the jars bearing the "royal" stamps were made at potteries belonging to the King. He even regarded these potteries as royal monopolies for making pottery, but at present there is ample evidence to show² that in ancient Israel there were also private firms who manufactured pottery. However, Sayce's theory of the

¹ See DIRINGER, *Iscrizioni*, pp. 12, 93, and *passim*; *Palest. Explor. Quart.*, 1943, p. 51.

² See, for instance, DIRINGER, *Iscrizioni*, pp. 119 f.; *Palest. Explor. Quart.*, 1941, pp. 38 ff.

"royal potteries" has been accepted by such eminent scholars as Dr. Bliss, Père Vincent, Canon Driver, and others; and Père Vincent suggested that the "royal" stamp was at the same time a guarantee of the capacity of the jar to which it was attached.

The French scholar, Clermont-Ganneau, advanced the theory¹ that the "royal" jars were receptacles, officially gauged and stamped beforehand, for the collection of oil, wine, or grain, representing tributes furnished to the royal storehouses by the chief cities of the kingdom. The word *la-melekh* would be equivalent to the modern formula OHMS, and the place-name would indicate respectively the name of the city furnishing the dues.

According to the English Bible scholar, J. W. Jack, the four place-names were administrative centres, and the jars were intended and used for the purpose of consigning wine, oil, and other products from various places to these centres, and thence to the royal household. "The fact that the jars are all similar is due to their representing current measures of capacity (officially gauged), and thus facilitating the administrative work." Similar opinion was recently expressed by the American Professor Millar Burrows, who argues²: "It would seem that the royal taxes were paid in kind (oil and wine), using jars of a standard size with the official stamp of the fiscal district, indicated by its chief city. These standardized measures may also have served as a kind of currency."

Finally, Professor Albright, who formerly thought that the four towns were capitals of administrative districts in the pre-exilic state of Judah, where the royal tribute (or taxes) was collected before being sent to Jerusalem, recently³ modified his view in the direction of Clermont-Ganneau's opinion. He also believes that the four towns were royal store-cities (*'arê miskanôt*), in which the taxes in kind were stored. "This explains why each town appears most frequently, as a rule, in the immediately adjacent region."

The theory of Yusif, the native foreman in Palestine Exploration Fund excavations, may also be mentioned; he thought that the word *la-melekh* may represent the royal recognition of a local standard, and the place-names may indicate what that standard was. Professor Sukenik, on the basis of the restored "royal" jar from Tell ed-Duweir (see above), arrived at the conclusion⁴ that the "royal" jars "were not meant to contain dues in kind, but were royal measures of capacity"; he did not suggest any definite solution in regard to the place-names.

The suggestion to consider the "royal" stamp as a guarantee of the capacity of the jar to which it was attached, is quite reasonable, but (1) it does not solve the question whether the jars were the production of royal potteries or not, and (2) as S. R. Driver pointed out, it cannot be proved or disproved until a sufficient number of unbroken or restorable jars have been recovered and their capacity measured.

Miss Olga Tufnell propounds a new theory. The stamps may indicate special brands of produce (wine, oil, etc.) from the royal farms situated in or near Hebron, Ziph, Sôkoh, and MMSHT. This opinion, too, is acceptable, and it would explain the reason why, of the four place-names in the inscriptions, there is only one which had a certain importance in ancient Israel. However, even in this case, the jars could have been made in one or more of the "royal" potteries, if such potteries existed.

¹ *Palest. Explor. Fund. Quart. Stat.*, 1899.

² *What Mean These Stones?*, 1941, p. 105.

³ *Tell Beit Mirsim*, iii, 1943.

⁴ *Kedem*, i, 1942, pp. 32 ff.

Upon either theory there remains the main difficulty that, among some five hundred and fifty handles, found at fourteen different places, the names of only four places should appear. Macalister argued that, after the produce was delivered at Jerusalem the jars became the perquisites of the tax-gatherers, who sold them to any buyer who might have taken them anywhere; therefore, they might be unearthed in any archæological site of ancient Judah. This explanation is a little far-fetched. Still less acceptable is the explanation of the occurrence of the four names only, "upon the principle that the purchasers from Lachish, Gezer, and the other towns represented by the sites excavated, would naturally deal with the tax-gatherers of the neighbouring districts."

Indeed, how can we explain the fact that all the four towns, and only these, appear on jar-handle stamps found in the north of ancient Judah, at Tell en-Naşbeh, and in the south, at Tell Beit Mirsim or Tell ed-Duweir? Mention may be made of the curious instance at Tell ed-Duweir, where—as Miss Tufnell informs me—in one room (room 1060) "royal" stamps were found bearing the names of all four towns. By now the possibility may be ruled out that there were "royal" stamps with other place-names of which no specimen has as yet been unearthed. It must also be taken into due consideration (1) that not all the four towns of the "royal" stamps were very important, and (2) that there were many more cities in ancient Judah which were at least as important as Ziph or Sôkoh, while MMSHT does not seem even to be mentioned in the Bible.

I do not think that it can be seriously argued that in ancient Judah Hebron, Ziph, Sôkoh, and MMSHT were the only administrative districts where the royal taxes were collected. Macalister himself had to admit that the "three known towns are not well placed to be centres of fiscal areas, and (that) there are many parts of the kingdom of Judah (such as the entire territory of Benjamin) which they could not serve in the capacity suggested. Besides, if Memshath were sufficiently important to be the capital of a district we might surely have expected to find some reference to it in the historical or prophetic writings".

The natural inference is that the constant repetition of the four names was due to some peculiar feature, which did not distinguish the other towns of the country whether important or not.

On the other hand, even if we accept the theory of the fiscal administrative districts, it does not solve the problem of the fabrication of the jars: were all of them made in one pottery, which thus would have been a kind of State pottery? or were they made in various private potteries? In the latter instance, each of these potteries must have been in possession of the various "royal" seals to stamp the jars before firing, unless there were special wandering officials who went round the various potteries to stamp the jars; and such a procedure would have been far too complicated.

Charles H. Inge is also right in pointing out¹ that the natural place for a stamp referring to the contents of the jars docketed or guaranteed in quality for purposes of taxation, would be the stopper. "It is far more likely that an official mark in the fabric of a vessel should guarantee either the quality or the capacity of the vessel itself." Furthermore, "because the jars are obviously utilitarian rather than ornamental, and in view of the recognized fact that they all conform to one type, it is likely that the capacity was in question rather than quality."

I fully agree with my friend Inge, and I think that the contents of the jars would have been guaranteed by a system of sealing similar to the Egyptian

¹ *Palest. Explor. Quart.*, 1941.

one. There is now evidence to show how the early Hebrews sealed their jars, and there is an allusion, in Job xiv, 17, to the custom of sealing bags. We also know what was the Egyptian official system of sealing employed at the time. A large hollow stopper of pottery was put into the mouth of the jar. This was fastened down by linen bands, the ends of which were tied up in the middle, and a lump of sealing clay fixed upon it and *impressed with the seal of the inspector*. Finally, the jar was sent out to the plasterer, who capped the whole top with a head of plaster, and *sealed it with the royal seal*. This method of securing the contents of large jars lasted in Egypt far on into Roman times. So important was the process of sealing jars that the "sealers" formed a regular guild under a "superintendent". Even special "instructors in the art of sealing" were employed. It is to be assumed that the official Judæan system of guaranteeing the contents of the jars resembled the Egyptian one which has been described.

I have already pointed out that there are many "royal" stamps, in which—although the stamp was sufficiently impressed—no trace of a name appears in the lower register. If the four towns were administrative districts for collection of taxes, the name of the town should have been the most distinctive element of the stamp, and the more so because there does not seem to be any difference in the form and the technique of production of the jars belonging to the different groups. Instead, it is this element, that is the place-name, which is wanting in many specimens, whereas the other main elements of the stamps (the symbol and the upper line of the inscription, i.e. the word *la-melekh*—both indicating that the stamp belonged to a "royal" jar) are rarely missing. Another point may be mentioned; there are a few specimens which seem to have belonged to jars which had never been used; unfortunately, this contention cannot be ascertained.

As Père Vincent and Canon Driver pointed out, "the neighbourhood of Hebron and Beit-jibrin is rich in clay adapted for the manufacture of pottery, and large jars, bowls, and dishes made at these places are at this day preferred in Jerusalem to other makes." It is therefore reasonable to assume that if there existed royal potteries, they were situated in those districts. The main objection to the "royal" pottery theory is what has been pointed out by Macalister: "In modern Palestine there are potteries at Ramleh, Jerusalem, Gaza, and other centres. The clay and the technique at all these places possess so many peculiarities that very little practice is needed to be able to distinguish at a glance the work of each town. This modern analogy suggests that, had there been potteries at the places named, their work would have been distinguishable by criteria other than the stamps impressed upon them. This is not the case, however: a *Hebron* handle and a *Shocoh* handle are always so much alike that they might have belonged to the same vessel. Such an identity of type and material is a physical impossibility if the handles come from different manufactories."

The answer to this objection is, indeed, not easy, but the taxes-theory does not solve this problem either. There are many factors which we do not know and probably will never be able to know. If, for instance, we accept the "royal" pottery theory, including the contention that all the four "royal" potteries were under the same general management, the question of the technique may perhaps be brushed aside. Besides, the works of these potteries may have been situated in places not excessively distant one from another. I have already mentioned that experts will analyse various specimens belonging to different groups in order to ascertain whether they come from the same place, and whether their chronological relationship can be defined. Until such analysis has been completed, providing positive results, nothing can be said with certainty.

Royal Seals in Ancient Israel.

Whatever interpretation may be given of the "royal" stamps, all scholars agree that they are impressions of seals (either of "royal" tax collectors or of "royal" potteries) somehow connected with the King, the original of these impressions having been a kind of seal, "On His Majesty's Service." The question thus arises: do these stamps represent royal seals? Do the scarab and the two-winged figure represent the devices of the royal seal? In default of sufficient evidence, no answer can be given to these questions, but in my opinion there can be no doubt that both the scarab and the two-winged figure were used as devices or emblems in the Judæan royal seals.

It is very difficult for us—and still more for those of us who are not familiar with the past Near Eastern civilization—to realize the great importance attached to the seal by the peoples of the Ancient World. It was far more of a necessity in everyday life to the ancient Near Eastern peoples (including the early Hebrews) than our seals are to us. Even in modern times the importance attached to the seal in the Near East was so great that without it no document was regarded as authentic. Unfortunately, no Early Hebrew royal seals or impressions of royal seals have yet been found, although a few seals or impressions of seals were discovered belonging to high "civil servants" or personages of royal blood.¹

The most famous of them is the fine lion-signet *Of Shema' Servant of Jerobo'am* (not improbably King Jerobo'am II, of the Northern Kingdom, c. 783-743 B.C.). Its pictorial device is a vividly depicted lion. Also remarkable are the seals, decorated in distinctly Egyptian style, *Of Abiyō Servant of 'Uzziyō*, and *Of Shebanyō Servant of 'Uzziyō*, possibly king Uzziah of Judah, a contemporary of Jerobo'am II, whereas the signet *Of Elishama' Son of the King* seems to belong to a much later period. Contrasting with these seals with Egyptian decoration there are two signets in typically Israelite style (two lines of inscription separated by a double line, without any symbol or emblem), *Of Shema' Servant of the King* and *Of 'Obadyahu Servant of the King*, as well as the seal impressions, belonging to a later period, *Of Gedalyahu Who is Over the House* and *Of Elyaqim Steward of Yaukin*, whereas the beautiful seal *Of Ya'azanyahu Servant of the King* bears the unusual emblem of a fighting cock carved with fine lapidary skill.

It is impossible to say with certainty whether the symbols of the "royal" jar-handle stamps were actually used as decorations for the royal signets, but assuming that the three aforementioned classes were respectively introduced by Hezekiah, Manasseh, and Josiah we may look at them, at least provisionally, as representing one of their official seals.

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¹ See, for instance, DIRINGER, *Iscrizioni*, cit. (chapter on Seals).

THE OFFICE OF MUFLA

While there is difference of opinion as to the exact status and function of the personage referred to in Talmudic literature as *Mufla*, it seems to be generally agreed that *Mufla* is an official title which invests its bearer with special legal authority and secures for him a recognized and singular judicial position.

Among the ancient authorities, Rashi¹ is definite on two points: (a) the *Mufla* is under regular circumstances a member of the Great Sanhedrin, although his status remains unaffected by not being one. (b) Even whilst not a member, his opinion is sought by, and carries greater weight with, the Great Sanhedrin than that of its ordinary member. On the other hand, according to the Tosafists,² *Mufla* is the designation of the president of a court. It is thus synonymous with *Ab-Beth-Din*, only that the latter is used exclusively in connection with the Great Sanhedrin while the former can be used in connection with ordinary courts as well. In the case of the Great Sanhedrin, the Tosafists further maintain, decisions could be reached in the absence of the *Mufla* because the number of judges this body was composed of was always made up by its seventy ordinary members, while the *Mufla* was a supernumerary member of the Court.

Among modern scholars,³ Buechler agrees with the Tosafists at least on the essential point that the position of *Mufla* existed in every court.⁴ Krauss advances a new theory according to which the *Mufla* was a provincial judge of high standing and great influence, but who had no official connection with the central courts.⁵

The Tannaitic texts in which *Mufla* is mentioned fall into two groups: (A) those dealing with the Rebellious Elder who is condemned to death for inviting people to act on a decision of his own, which had been declared erroneous by the Great Sanhedrin; and (B) those dealing with the liability of the Sanhedrin to a Sin-offering for having led the community to transgression by reaching an erroneous decision.

A

(1) "Said R. Jose⁶: At first there were no contendings of opinion in Israel. . . . If anyone were in need of legal direction, he went to the court of his own city . . . if there they knew a tradition bearing on the case they told it to him; if not, he and the instructing judge (*Mufla*)⁷ of that court⁸ went together to the court in the Temple Mount. If there they knew a tradition bearing

¹ *Hor.*, i, 4.

² *Sanh.* 16b, s.v. 'ehad.

³ See also JASTROW, s.v. *Mufla*, "A special expert assessor at court to whom questions of law are referred, *instructing judge*"; DANBY, *Mishnah*, *Hor.*, i, 4, "chief judge"; *Talmud* (E.T. ed. EPSTEIN), *Hor.*, p. 25, n. 11, "An expert not a member of the court, to whom doubtful points are submitted and by whose directions the court is guided in its deliberations."

⁴ A. BUECHLER, *Das Synedrion in Jerusalem und das grosse Beth-Din in der Quaderhalle*, etc., Wien, 1902, p. 70, n. 64.

⁵ S. KRAUSS, *Sanhedrin-Makkoth* (*Mishnah*, ed. BEER), Giessen, 1933, pp. 291 ff. See, however, also *ibid.*, p. 34 f.

⁶ *Tosefta*, *Sanh.*, vii, 1, in the translation of DANBY (*Tractate Sanhedrin*, SPCK, 1919, p. 67 f.). The text occurs also in *Tos. Hag.*, ii, 9, and with the omission of *Mufla* and other variations in *Mishnah*, *Sanh.*, xi, 2, and *Sifre*, Deut. xvii, 8, in connection with the Rebellious Elder.

⁷ *Tos. Hag.*, ii, 9; ed. ZUCK., reads *Mufla* in both cases.

⁸ Here and in most of the other cases the texts vary between *Mufla shel bēth dtn* and *Mufla shebbēbēth dtn* just as between *mufla shellāhen* and *Mufla shebbāhen*.

on the case, they told it to them ; if not, they and the instructing judge (*Mufla*) went to the court in the Chamber of the Temple Wall. If there they had a tradition bearing on the case, they told it to them ; if not, both parties went to the court in the Hewn Chamber."

(2) "If¹ a thing be outstandingly difficult for thee"—the Writ refers to the *Mufla* of the court."

B

(1) "If the court gave a decision and one of them knew that they had erred and said to them, 'Ye do err,' or if the chief judge (*Mufla*) of the court was not there . . . they are not culpable."²

(2) " . . . if the *Mufla* of the court was not there, or if one of them said, 'I don't know,' or if he said to them, 'Ye do err' . . . they are not liable."³

(3) "If the court gave a decision and one of them was not there, they are exempt. Rabbi said : I hold 'ad sheyyehe *Mufla* shebbahem."⁴

By its grammatical form *Mufla* does in no way suggest an official position more than do *mumḥeh*, *muflag*, *mubkhaq*, and *mubkhar*. Nor do the contexts in which the word occurs compel us to give to *Mufla* such interpretation. On the contrary, Rashi⁵ and the Tosafists⁷ agree that as far as group (A) is concerned *Mufla* is not used in any special sense, but means a qualified judge in contrast to an unordained disciple.⁸ That *Mufla* can have such a general sense is seen also from b. *Hor.* 7a where, in dealing with the decision of the High Priest versus that of the court, the Talmud has 'i *dehu mufla wehen 'enan mufla'in*. Here the plural *mufla'in* can only have the general sense of "qualified". It may be argued that, while giving to *Mufla* this general sense, it yet remains to be explained why this rare expression has been used on the aforementioned occasions. But, on the other hand, the views of Rashi and the Tosafists entail the following difficulties : (i) the position of *Mufla*, which is assumed to have been of such importance, is not mentioned in Tannaitic Literature except in the texts of group B ; and (ii) we have to assign to the same term in A a meaning different from that which it has in B.

Rashi was prompted to his view by the following apparent discrepancy : the Mishnah⁹ exempted the court only in the case where the *Mufla* was absent, while R. Jonathan,¹⁰ the Amora, did so even when an ordinary member was absent. Rashi, therefore, tried to harmonize both views by assuming that the *Mufla* was not, as the literal meaning of the word would suggest, the most learned member of the court, but a distinguished personality standing outside the court ; the Mishnah and R. Jonathan would thus complement one another. This view, with some modification, was then taken over, as we have seen, by the Tosafists whence, again, it found its place into Talmudic literature in general.

As it stands, the Tosefta¹¹ might be explained, in accordance with Rashi, in the same way. Rabbi does not oppose the anonymous view but supplements

¹ *Sifre*, Deut. xvii, 8, *Baraita*, *Sanh.*, 87a.

² Deut. xvii, 8, which refers, according to tradition to the Rebellious Elder.

³ *Hor.*, i, 4, DANBY, p. 462.

⁴ *Sifra*, iv, 13.

⁵ *Tos. Hor.*, i, 2 ; the passage quoted in Hebrew can be translated either " (they are not liable) unless the *Mufla* was present ", or " (they are liable) unless he (the one absent) was the *Mufla* ", as is shown below.

⁶ *Sanh.*, 87a, s.v. *bemufla*.

⁷ *Sanh.*, 16b, s.v. 'eḥad ; 87a, s.v. *bḥmuflā*.

⁸ The contrast is implied in *Sanh.*, xi, 2, which excludes disciples from the law of the Rebellious Elder.

⁹ *Hor.*, i, 4, i.e. B (1).

¹⁰ See *Hor.*, 3b.

¹¹ i.e., B (3).

it by adding that not only the presence of all the members but also that of the *Mufla* was necessary. However, Rabbi's words occur also in y. *Hor.* 46a (I, 4), and there we read 'en lekha me'akkebh 'ella mufla shel beth din bilbhad¹—that is, as the Yerushalmi rightly appreciated, Rabbi is at variance with the anonymous view and holds that the absence of an ordinary member is of no consequence. Moreover, R. Jonathan's view is given in y. *Hor.* 45d (I, 2) in the name of R. Tanhum and here again the Yerushalmi expressly states that it differs from Rabbi's view. Thus, we see that the whole conception of *Mufla* being an official position is unnecessary, and its origin can be ascribed to Rashi's unacquaintance with the Yerushalmi.²

The explanation of the origin of the term *Mufla* and the reason for the confinement of its usage in Tannaitic literature to the texts quoted above, seem to be as follows. We have seen above that group B includes a number of cases in which the court is exempt:—

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a | b |
| (1) If an ordinary member was absent. | (3) If the <i>Mufla</i> was absent. |
| (2) If one said: I don't know. | (4) If one said: Ye do err. |

The fact that case (3) is rendered superfluous by case (1), and similarly case (4) by case (2), suggests that *a* and *b* represent two originally independent sets of cases,³ the former of which requiring the positive agreement of all the members of the court, while the latter, as will be shown anon, is satisfied if none of the members has openly opposed the decision. This suggestion is supported by the two reasons given for the exemption of the court in the above cases:—

School of R. Ishmael⁴:

"Why has it been said that a court that ruled concerning a matter which the Sadducees admit, are exempt? Because they should have learned and did not learn; (in the case of) the absence of the *Mufla* of the court they are also exempt, because they should have learned and did not learn."

Sifra⁵:

"And if the whole congregation of Israel shall err,"⁶ (implies that) they are not liable unless all of them arrived at the same (erroneous) decision."

According to the School of R. Ishmael, it is assumed that the *Mufla* would, if consulted, draw attention to the mistake. The error committed by the court in his absence is thus considered to have originated from lack of investigation and does not entail the offering prescribed for error in judgment. Clearly this reason applies even more to case (2) where the attention of the court has actually been drawn to their error by one of its members. On the other hand, according to Sifra, the court are to be exempt even in cases (3) and (4) since, in prescribing the offering, Lev. iv, 13 requires that the error should have been shared equally by all members of the court.

¹ The text has בלח and KRAUSS (loc. cit., p. 296) concludes from this the existence of a Sanhedrin in Lydda. However, the interchange between *bh* and *w* is not rare in the Yerushalmi.

² MAIMONIDES (*Mishnah Com.*, *Hor.*, i, 4; cf. also *Yad.*, *Shegagoth*, xii, 2), in identifying *Mufla* with *Ro'sh Yeshibhah* (i.e. *Nasi*), speaks of the ideal court in which that position is filled by the "most learned" member; see *Yad. Sanhedrin*, i, 3: *haggadol be'ho'khmah shebbe'hu'lam moshibhin 'otho ro'sh 'alehen wehu ro'sh hayyeshibhah*.

³ Cf. also above, B (1), where *b* occurs independently, and B (3), where it is expressly stated that (1) and (3) belong to different sources.

⁴ *b. Hor.*, 4b (*E.T.*, ed EPSTEIN), p. 26.

⁵ *Ad. Lev.* iv, 13.

⁶ *Lev.* iv, 13.

Unlike Sifra, the School of R. Ishmael cannot draw support from the wording of the law relating to the erroneous decision of the court, and they refer us for the origin of their view to the rule exempting the court when they decide concerning a matter which the Sadducees admit. This rule has to be read in the light of the tradition that the fundamental difference between the Pharisees and the Sadducees concerned the Oral Law rejected by the latter. It means that the court are liable only if their decision conflicts with the Oral Law, not if it involves a matter expressly stated in the Written Law. The texts relevant to this rule are as follows :—

Mishnah, *Hor.* i, 3 :

"If the court gave a decision uprooting an entire principle (in the Law) : if they said, 'There is naught in the Law concerning the menstruant,' or 'There is naught in the Law concerning the Sabbath,' or 'There is naught in the Law concerning idolatry,' they are not culpable. If they gave a decision that in part annulled and in part sustained (what the Law enjoins), they are culpable. Thus, if they said, 'The Law treats of the menstruant, but if a man has intercourse with a woman that awaits day against day he is not culpable,' or 'The Law treats of the Sabbath, but if a man carries a burden from a private domain to the public domain he is not culpable,' or 'The Law treats of idolatry, but if a man bows down (before an idol) he is not culpable, the court is culpable; for it is written, *dabhar*¹ (something)—' something, but not the whole principle.'²

Tosefta, *Hor.* i, 7 :

"If the court gave a decision uprooting an entire principle (in the Law) : If they said, 'There is naught in the Law concerning the (eating of) blood,' or 'There is naught in the Law concerning the (eating of) fat,' or 'There is naught in the Law concerning the (eating of) *piggul*,'³ they are not culpable. If they gave a decision that in part annulled and in part sustained, they are culpable. Thus, if they said, 'The law treats of blood, but the prohibition refers only to the blood of the peace-offerings,' or 'The Law treats of fat, but the prohibition refers only to the fat of the peace-offerings,' or 'The Law treats of *piggul*, but the prohibition refers only to the *piggul* of the peace-offerings, the court is culpable; for here⁴ it is written, *dabhar* and there⁴ it is written, *dabhar*; as there (the meaning is) 'a part of the thing', and not the whole thing, so here a part of the thing (is meant and not the whole thing."

B. *Hor.* 4a thought that the School of R. Ishmael referred to the rule dealt with in the above Mishnah; and that "annulling in part", as defined there, was in the Sadducean line of thought—but it was at pains to explain how the Sadducees could have disagreed with the prohibitions of having intercourse with a woman that awaits day against day, carrying on the Sabbath and bowing down before an idol, which are enjoined by the Written Law. It seems, however, that while there was an ancient *halakhah* to the effect that the court were not liable unless they annulled in part and sustained in part there was disagreement as to whether the part annulled had to be of the Oral or of the Written Law. The Mishnah, as the plain meaning of the examples it gave showed, followed the latter view. The School of R. Ishmael, however, held that the part annulled had to be of the Oral Law. The same view is represented by Tosefta where the examples given seem to have been intentionally chosen from cases where the literal meaning of the Written Law does not obviously agree with the interpretation it had received in the Oral Law.⁵

¹ Lev. iv, 13.

² Lev. vii, 18; stale sacrificial flesh.

³ E.T., DANBY, p. 462.

⁴ Deut. xvii, 11.

⁵ The prohibitions of fat, blood, and *piggul* occur in connection with the peace-offering, Lev. vii, 18, 25, 26; xviii, 11. It is, of course, not suggested here that the Sadducees actually followed this interpretation. That, however, it agreed with their line of thought can be gathered from the fact that among later sectarians with Sadducean inclinations this view is found to have been prominent; see the writer's *Saadya Gaon's Arabic Version of Pentateuch*, in *Saadya Volume* (Manchester, 1943), p. 234 f., and the literature cited there, p. 235, n. 1.

Furthermore, the comparison of the Mishnah with the Tosefta suggests that side by side with the basic *halakhah* there was a tradition connecting it with the word *dabhar* in Scriptural passages. But whereas the Mishnah understood that the rule was implied in the literal meaning of the word *dabhar*, the Tosefta thought that it was derived, by a *gezerah shawah* based on that word, from the case of the Rebellious Elder. The association between the case of the Rebellious Elder and that of the court is not inexplicable. The Rebellious Elder is condemned on the assumption that the court's point of view is right. But what happens if the court is wrong? Some of the rules referring to this case are similar to that of the Rebellious Elder and suggest a common basis:—

Court :

The obligation (upon the court) is incurred only where ignorance of the law was accompanied by error in action.¹

The court is under no obligation unless they ruled concerning a prohibition the punishment for which is extirpation, if transgressed wantonly, and a sin-offering if transgressed unwittingly.²

They become culpable only through a decision given by the Great Court.³

Rebellious Elder :

He (the Rebellious Elder) is not liable unless he acts upon his (erroneous) ruling or states it to others who act thereon.⁴

The Rebellious Elder is liable only if he ruled concerning a prohibition the punishment for which is extirpation, if transgressed wantonly, and a sin-offering if transgressed unwittingly.⁵

He is not condemned to death either by the court that was in his own city or by the court that was in Jabneh, but he was brought up before the Great Court in Jerusalem.⁶

Now, in b. *Sanh.* 87a, there is a controversy between R. Meir and R. Judah. The former maintains, on the basis of the aforementioned *gezerah shawah* of *dabhar*, that, like the court, the Rebellious Elder is liable only if his decision concerned a matter the wanton transgression of which involved extirpation and the unwitting transgression a sin-offering. R. Judah, however, saw in accordance with Deut. xv, 11, that the matter involved in the Rebellious Elder's decision had to be one, the basis of which was Biblical, whilst its interpretation was Rabbinic. This, however, is clearly, in different words, the very principle which Tosefta derived from the case of the Rebellious Elder and applied to the court by virtue of the *gezerah shawah* of *dabhar*, and which the School of R. Ishmael expressed by the words "matter which the Sadducees admit".

Thus, it seems that while the validity of the *gezerah shawah* of *dabhar*, implying the identity of the rules governing the case of the court with those governing that of the Rebellious Elder, remained uncontested, there was disagreement as to the place in which these rules were primarily established. R. Meir, following probably the School of R. Akiba, derived them from interpretation of the law relating to the court and applied them by virtue of the *gezerah shawah* to the case of the Rebellious Elder. R. Judah, however, following the School of R. Ishmael, reversed the process and, relying on the interpretation of the law relating to the Rebellious Elder, applied the rules thus deduced by virtue of the same *gezerah shawah* to the decision of the court.

Now, since the School of R. Ishmael derived the rule concerning "matters which the Sadducees admit" in the case of the court from the case of the

¹ *Hor.*, ii, 3.

² *Hor.*, i, 5.

³ *Ibid.*, 87a.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Sanh.*, 88a.

⁶ *Sanh.*, xi, 4.

Rebellious Elder, we should expect to find that the rule concerning the *Mufla*, based, according to them, on the same principle, has its origin in the same context. In fact, as we have seen,¹ the rule concerning the *Mufla* is found also in the case of the Rebellious Elder. Moreover, the text of the Sifra : " *If a thing be outstandingly difficult (yippale) for thee* "²—the Writ refers to an 'outstanding' member (*Mufla*) of the court",³ suggests that the term *Mufla* had its origin in the case of the Rebellious Elder in the Midrashic exegesis based on the word *yippale*.⁴ The School of R. Ishmael seem to have extended, by virtue of the *gezerah shawah*, the idea of *Mufla* found in the case of the Rebellious Elder to the case of the court. This explains why *Mufla* is not mentioned in other Tannaitic sources except in the texts (group A and B) which treat respectively of the decision of the Rebellious Elder and of that of the court.

We may now conclude that the notion that *Mufla* meant an official position was introduced by Rashi but has no foundation in the sources. The term means "outstanding" and has its origin in a Midrashic exegesis based on the word *yippale* in Deut. xvii, 11, in which it is emphasized that even an "outstanding" Elder might be condemned for rebelling against the authority of the Sanhedrin. It was used elsewhere only in connection with the erroneous decision of the court—and there by the School of R. Ishmael who, on the basis of a *gezerah shawah*, borrowed that term from the case of the Rebellious Elder.

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¹ Cf. texts group A, quoted above.

² Deut. xvii, which deals, according to tradition, with the case of the Rebellious Elder.

³ Cf. text A (2) quoted above.

⁴ Such exegesis is not infrequent in Talmudic Literature ; cf. *pelethi . . . shemufla'in bedibrehen* (Ber., 4b), and *yafli . . . lerabboth mufla hassamukh le'ish* (Tem., 2b).

PAYMENT OF A "PO'EL BAṬEL"

There are a number of references to the rate of payment of a *po'el baṭel* in tannaitic literature. None of these refer to the *po'el baṭel* himself, but to cases where someone is to be paid for certain work *kepo'el baṭel*, i.e. according to the rates of wages applying to the latter. No satisfactory attempt has been made, to our knowledge, to explain these passages, and to determine what is meant by *po'el baṭel*. It will therefore be necessary to examine all the passages in question:—

(a) In Baba Meṣ. 2, 9, it is laid down that the finder of lost property may claim payment *kepo'el baṭel* for time lost in taking charge of it.

(b) In B. Meṣ. 5, 4, it is prohibited to set up (i.e. lend money to) a shopkeeper on condition of receiving half the profits, unless the lender pays the shopkeeper wages *kepo'el*. The version of the Mishnah quoted in the Palestinian Talmud reads here: *kepo'el baṭel*; so does a Baraitha, commenting on this Mishnah (b. B. Meṣ. 68a). In the Tosefta (B. Meṣ. 4, II) three different opinions are given concerning the rate of payment of the shopkeeper, one of which, R. Meir's, is that he is to be paid *kepo'el baṭel*; this view would seem to coincide with that of the Mishnah.

(c) In Bekhoroth 4, 6, it is laid down that, though it is forbidden to take payment for acting as a judge, etc., one may pay a judge *kepo'el*. Here, too, a Baraitha (quoted b. Bekhor. 29b) comments that this means *kepo'el baṭel*. Tos. Bekhor. 3, 9, also mentions payment *kepo'el baṭel* in this connection.

The above are the only cases where the term *po'el baṭel* is mentioned in tannaitic literature. There is a further reference to it in a statement of Rab in b. B. Meṣ. 76b, to which we shall turn presently.

These three cases all have one feature in common: they deal with situations where services performed must be paid for, but cannot be paid for, at the full rate of remuneration. In B. Meṣ. 2, 9, and in Bekh. 4, 6, the services performed are of the nature of a religious commandment (*miṣwah*), and payment may be claimed only for lost time, without regard to the "work" done. In B. Meṣ. 5, 4, payment must be made, as otherwise the labour of the shopkeeper might be regarded as usury paid for the loan of the capital; nevertheless, full payment would be out of place, for the shopkeeper is working also for his own benefit, partially at least.

If in these cases payment is to be made as to a *po'el baṭel*, we must conclude:—

(a) That the *po'el baṭel* and the rate of payment applicable to him were well known.

(b) That there must be some reason, why payment in these cases should be based on that of the *po'el baṭel*.

(c) That the rate of payment of the *po'el baṭel* was definite and clearly defined, not one which varied with each individual case.

One of the explanations offered for the conception of payment like that of a *po'el baṭel* is that of the Amora Abayi in b. B. Meṣ. 31b: "What does (payment) *kepo'el baṭel* mean? Abayi says: (it is) like (that) of an idle labourer, (according to) the kind of work which he has ceased to perform." This explanation, offered over a century after the redaction of the Mishnah, can hardly be said to express its true intention. It is understood by Jastrow (A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli, etc., London and New York, 1903, s.v. *po'el*) to mean that payment in these cases must be "as much as a labourer in that line would ask for stopping work on which he was engaged,

(which would be less than he would earn by working) ". This amount would, of course, differ in each case, according to the skill of the labourer, his usual rate of payment, etc. Moreover, the whole situation is highly hypothetical since, in the normal course of events, nobody offers a worker money in order that he may stop work. By stating that in these cases payment must be made as to a *po'el baṭel*, the Mishnah would leave the actual amount to be paid vague and indefinite; it would, in effect, say no more than this: if a man has to stop work, in order, e.g., to restore lost property, that man must be paid at the rate of payment which he would demand in order to stop work. We feel justified, therefore, to rule out Abayi's interpretation of the term and all later interpretations based on it.

An alternative interpretation, mentioned by Jastrow also (*ibid.*), is that one must pay as much "as a labourer out of work would take rather than be idle ". This explanation has, apparently, been accepted by scholars such as S. Krauss and S. W. Baron, who base on it general conclusions about the extent of unemployment in tannaitic times.¹ However, beyond the fact that *baṭel* means "idle", there is nothing in the texts speaking of *po'el baṭel*, which would suggest that reference is made to unemployed labourers. For one thing, the amount which an unemployed labourer would take rather than be idle must have varied in each case; it can have been nothing like the fixed rate of payment to which the above texts are obviously referring. What is more, one can think of no reason why the Mishnah should rule that the rate of payment for a man who gives up his work, in order to restore lost property, etc., should be equal to the payment which an unemployed man would ask for doing work. Besides, if the *po'el baṭel* was, in fact, an unemployed worker, and as such a well-known phenomenon, it is difficult to understand why no reference should be made to him except in these cases where someone who is not unemployed is to be paid at the same rate.

A different explanation of the term *po'el baṭel* is, therefore, clearly required. It must take into account the three points mentioned above, and it must also account for the fact that *po'el baṭel* is, invariably, referred to in connection with rates of payment. We believe that the passage in b. B. Meṣ. 76b, mentioned before, will throw light on the matter. There Rab, one of the first generation of Amoraim and himself still a disciple of R. Jehudah haNasi the redactor of the Mishnah, comments on a Baraitha (Tosefta) which rules that an employer must pay his workers full wages (*śakhar mošlam*), although they are unable to carry out the work, owing to circumstances such as the weather. The passage runs: "A tanna recited before Rab: 'he must pay them their full wages.' He (Rab) said to him: 'Ḥabibi² said: Had it been I, I should have paid them only as a *po'el baṭel*.'" To this the Gemara objects: "Has it not been taught thereon (i.e. as in the conclusion of the above Baraitha): one who travels with a load is not like one who travels empty-handed, nor is one who does work (*ośeh mel'akhah*) like one who sits idle (*yošebh ubhaṭel*)?" and replies: "It (the text of the Baraitha) was not recited to him in its entirety."³

¹ KRAUSS, in his *Talmudische Archäologie*, Leipzig, 1911, refers repeatedly to the "unemployed agricultural worker", who, according to him, is a "recurrent figure" (vol. ii, p. 102, 252); this, apparently, is his rendering of the phrase *po'el baṭel*. BARON, in his *Social and Religious History of the Jews*, New York, 1937, vol. i, p. 198, writes: "There were a large number of unemployed (Poalim betelim) as indicated by the Talmud."

² According to RASHI, "Ḥabibi" refers to R. Ḥiya, Rab's uncle. According to another version, quoted by RABBINOWICZ, *Variae Lectiones*, xiii, p. 214, the text should read: "He said to him: 'Ḥabibi . . .'" ; "Ḥabibi" being Rab's form of addressing the tanna.

³ The second version of Rab's comment, given in the Gemara (*ibid.*) need not, we believe, be taken into account. It is an "improved" version, which should obviate the assumption, that Rab (or R. Ḥiya) had been ignorant of the complete text of the Baraitha on which he was commenting.

This text clarifies two significant points: (a) that the *po'el batel* is the same as the *yošebh ubhatel* of the Baraitha and is contrasted to "*oseh mela'khah*"; (b) that the rate of payment of a *po'el batel* is that of an employee who was prevented from carrying out the work for which he had been employed, and is contrasted with the full wages (*šakhar mošlam*) due to a labourer in the normal course. Thus, it emerges clearly that the *po'el batel* is not an unemployed labourer, but a worker employed for work which cannot, in fact, be carried out, owing to weather conditions or the like. The *po'el batel* is, in short, not an unemployed worker, but an unoccupied one; and although he has been "sitting idle", he can claim payment from his employer but at a reduced rate. The phrase used in the Baraitha: "he gives them their full wages; but . . . one who does work is not like one who sits idle" is thus the equivalent of saying: "he gives them the wages of a *po'el batel*."

The case of a worker, and of an agricultural worker in particular,¹ who was prevented from carrying out the work for which he had been engaged must have been a common one. As the law insisted that he had to be paid, it is only to be expected that there should have come into existence a customary rate of reduced payment applicable in such cases. Obviously, the worker himself would agree to accept slightly less remuneration when he had done no work at all. This lower rate of payment "for wet days", as we might call it, must have been well known to anyone concerned with employment.²

Returning to our original Mishnah passages, both that in B. Meš. 2, 9, and that in Bekh. 4, 6, are now easily explained. A person who loses his working-time, by performing services for others, is entitled to payment; but since these services are of the nature of a *mišwah*, he must not claim payment for the "work" performed. Thus, these cases correspond to that of the *po'el batel* who receives payment not for work done, but only for time lost, and the same rate of payment may, logically, be applied to them.

In the case of the "shopkeeper" (B. Meš. 5, 4,) the position is not so clear. Here the crucial point is that he must receive some payment, so as to avoid the appearance of usury. As to the amount of payment, different views are put forward, of which that given in the Mishnah is only one. In Tos. B. Meš. 4, 11, R. Jehudah takes the view that a nominal remuneration is sufficient; R. Shime'on insists on full wages; R. Me'ir takes an intermediate view and suggests payment *kepo'el batel*.³ R. Shime'on's view is expressed in the phrase: *nothen lo šekharo mošlam še'eyno domeh ha'oseh mel'akhah* . . . , which should be rendered: "He gives him his full wages, for one who does work is not like one who sits idle." Although these words are almost identical with those of the Baraitha in b. B. Meš. 76b, their meaning in this context is the very opposite. The Baraitha, speaking of workers who have, in fact, not done any work, rules that they must be given "full wages", but immediately qualifies this with the remark: "but one who works is not like one, etc."; that is to say, that "full wages" here means those of a *po'el batel*. The Tosefta, however, speaks of the shopkeeper who is actually doing work; he is, therefore, to be paid "full wages" and not, as R. Me'ir suggests, like a *po'el batel*, because "one who does work is not like one who sits idle".

¹ The term *po'el*, as a rule, refers to the agricultural labourer, cf. KRAUSS, *ibid*.

² That the amount payable to the *po'el batel* is not mentioned is not surprising, since talmudic law does not fix standards of wages at all. Wages, if not stipulated at the time of employment, had to be paid in conformity with local custom (cf. e.g. Tos. B. Meš., 11, 23; Baraitha, quoted b. B. Meš., 87a). What emerges is the existence, side by side with the local standard rate for agricultural labourers, of a reduced rate for labourers who found themselves unoccupied, which could be applied by the employer even in the absence of any stipulation to this effect.

³ Whether R. Me'ir's view, as quoted in the Tosefta, coincides with his view as given in a Baraitha, b. B. Meš., 68b, need not here be discussed.

It might be suggested that the *po'el baṭel* may be identical with the "keepers of a cucumber field" or keepers of produce, of whom no physical exertion is required; any of these might properly be called a *po'el*, i.e. an agricultural labourer, and yet *baṭel*, as he does not do any actual work but "sits idle". For such work even cripples were frequently employed (cf. B. Qam. 8, 1, where compensation in cases of assault is fixed on the assumption that even a man who has lost an arm or leg may still be employed as "keeper of a cucumber field"; also Mekhilta Beshallah 11a). The rate of payment for work of this kind was naturally much lower than that for ordinary agricultural work.

Nevertheless, this identification of the *po'el baṭel* with watchmen and keepers of produce appears to us untenable. For one thing, there is nothing in the texts referring to *po'el baṭel* which would suggest that a keeper of produce is referred to; nor does the text in B. Qam. 8, 1, mention either *po'el* or *baṭel*. Moreover, it would appear that both the terms *mel'akhah* and *baṭel* are used very broadly in tannaitic Hebrew. The former can certainly be applied to anyone performing a useful function, even though no physical activity is involved; thus, e.g. the "Rabbis of Jabneh" compare the work of the farmer with their own "work" (*mel'akhah*), viz. the study of Torah (b. Berakh. 17a). On the other hand, *baṭel* implies not merely physical inactivity but the lack or stoppage of an occupation; phrases like "*baṭel middibhrei torah*" are employed not infrequently (e.g. Abot 1, 5). There can be little doubt, then, that a "watchman of a cucumber-field" would be classed as '*oseh mel'akhah* rather than as *yoṣebh ubhaṭel*.¹ The conclusive argument, however, may be found in the very passage which introduces the "watchman of a cucumber-field", viz. the Mishnah (B. Qam. loc. cit.) dealing with *ṣebheth*, i.e. compensation for loss of time in cases of injury. This Mishnah rules that, although the victim may already have received compensation (*nezeq*) for the loss of an arm or leg, he is still entitled to the equivalent of the wages of a "watchman" while he is bedridden or forced to be idle. He receives *ṣebheth*, because he is *yoṣebh ubhaṭel* ("sitting idle"), and is unable to be occupied as a watchman, as he might have been, in spite of the loss of his arm or leg. It follows that a man occupied as a watchman is certainly not considered *yoṣebh ubhaṭel*, but rather as '*oseh mel'akhah*. Thus, the identification of the "watchman" with the *po'el baṭel* can be definitely ruled out.

The watchman or keeper of produce who performs a task demanding little or no physical exertion was paid at a rate much lower than the ordinary agricultural worker. But it is with the latter, the *po'el* who is hired for tasks such as hoeing, weeding, ploughing, etc., that we are concerned here. To him the reduced rate of the *po'el baṭel* applies when circumstances, such as the weather, prevent him from carrying out the work for which he had been employed. It stands to reason, though there is no evidence available on this point, that the rate of payment of the *po'el baṭel*, while normally less than that of an agricultural worker, would still be far higher than that of a watchman, etc.; for a heavy worker prevented from working through no fault of his should still be entitled to higher wages than a cripple, whose "work" was of very inferior value in the first place.

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¹ The controversy in b. B. Meṣ., 93a, between Rab and Samuel, as to whether certain categories of watchmen are entitled to eat agricultural produce on the basis of Deut. xxiii, 25 f., may have a bearing on the subject. The issue there, however, is not whether a watchman is considered '*oseh mel'akhah* or *baṭel*, but whether he can be considered '*oseh ma'aseh*', which may be rendered, in the context, as "doing physical work". The privilege of eating agricultural produce, which, by tannaitic law, applies to agricultural labourers only, is limited to certain categories of work. The dispute concerns the question whether the work of a watchman may be included in these categories; not whether he is doing any "work" or not.

THE ROOT צנע IN HEBREW, AND THE MEANING OF קררנית IN MALACHI III, 14¹

The root *šn'* occurs only twice in the Hebrew Bible, viz., in Mic. vi, 8, and Prov. xi, 2. In the former passage it is found in the phrase **הצנוע לכת עם-אלהיך**, translated in the English Versions "to walk humbly with thy God". In the passage from Proverbs it occurs in the phrase **ואת-צנועים חכמה**, translated in the English Versions "but with the lowly is wisdom". The lexicons² similarly give the meaning of *šn'* in these passages as "be humble, modest", and commentators³ generally give this same meaning to the Hebrew root. The evidence of the ancient versions—especially of the Greek versions—studied in the light of Semitic philology, suggests, however, that "be modest, humble" is not the basic meaning of *šn'*. We may mention first Quinta's rendering⁴ of *hašnē'a* in Mic. vi, 8, by φροντίσεν "consider, reflect, pay attention" (cf. Vulg. *sollicitum ambulare*), and the rendering by Symmachus⁵ of *wēeth-šēnū'im* in Prov. xi, 2, by παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἐπιμελέσι "with the careful, attentive". How are these renderings, which give to *šn'* the meaning "pay attention, be careful", to be explained? It is to be observed that the word *šānū'a* is of passive formation, a fact which suggests that *šn'* is an active root. Now there are indications of the existence of such an active root in Jewish Aramaic. Thus, *šn'* is said to mean "guard, hold back"⁶—likewise *šn'* in New Hebrew⁷—a meaning which is seen also in the Aph. *'ašna* "keep secret, guard, store up", and the Ithpa. *'ištanna* "was kept secret, was stored up, restrain oneself" (i.e. "keep oneself back").⁸ In Jewish Aramaic the passive participle *šēnī'a* means "reserved, guarded"—e.g. in Baba Bathra 58a the question is asked of a woman **אמאי לא צניעת באיסורא** "Why are you not more guarded in your immoral conduct?"⁹ The word *šēnī'a* is here used in a good sense—"guarded, reserved" means "careful". In Syriac the corresponding form *šēnī'ā* is used both in a good sense "skilful, clever", and in a bad sense "crafty"¹⁰ (cf. the double meanings borne by *šēna* Ethpa. and by *šēnī'ūthā*).¹¹ This evidence from Aramaic points the way, it is suggested, to an explanation of the renderings of the Greek versions in the two passages under discussion. In Prov. xi, 2, the *šānū'a*, the "guarded, reserved" man, is taken by the translators to be the "careful, circumspect" man. In Mic. vi, 8, the divine requirement is taken by the translators to be that a man should "walk with care, attentively, with circumspection", with his God.¹²

¹ The substance of this paper was read at the twenty-first International Congress of Orientalists, Paris, on 30th July, 1948.

² e.g. BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS, p. 857; GESENIUS-BUHL (16th ed.), p. 688.

³ e.g. WELLHAUSEN, *Die kleinen Propheten*, p. 26; NOWACK, *Die kleinen Propheten*, p. 216; MARTI, *Das Dodekapropheton*, p. 293; J. M. P. SMITH, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Micah, etc.* (Intern Crit. Comm.), p. 128; E. SELLIN, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 2nd and 3rd ed., 1929, p. 341, 343.

⁴ In F. FIELD, *Origenis Hexapl.* ii, 996, where see Jerome's interesting remarks (n. 12).

⁵ *ibid.*, ii, 331.

⁶ M. JASTROW, *A Dict. of the Targumim, etc.*, p. 1293; E. KÖNIG, *Hebr. u. Aram. Wörterb. zum A.T.*, p. 391.

⁷ G. H. DALMAN, *Aram.-Neuhebr. Wörterb. zu Targ., etc.*, p. 350.

⁸ J. LEVY, *Chald. Wörterb. über die Targ.*, ii, 332. Cf. his *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterb.*, iv, 205.

⁹ See JASTROW, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

¹⁰ Cf. the phrase *nēšūraṯ lēbh* (Prov. vii, 10), used of a harlot—"guarded of heart", i.e. keeping her own counsel, cunning.

¹¹ PAYNE SMITH, *Thes. Syr.*, p. 3421 f.; cf. BROCKELMANN, *Lex. Syr.*, 2nd ed., p. 633.

¹² cf. the phrase ἀκριβῶς περιπατεῖτε, Ephesians v, 15.

We may next consider Theodotion's rendering¹ of *hasnē'a* in Mic. vi, 8, by ἀσφαλίσου "fortify, secure, make fast". This rendering is highly interesting to the Semitic philologist, for it sends him right back to the South Arabic *ṣn'* "strengthen"—again an active root—with its derivative *mṣn'* "stronghold".² This latter recalls the New Hebrew expression *māqōm hammuṣnā'* "a well-guarded place".³ Cognate with the South Arabic root is the Ethiopic *ṣan'a* "be strong, hard", which in the form II, i, is used of "fortifying" a city; *ṣen'e* is "fortification".⁴

This evidence of the versions and of Semitic philology would seem then to indicate two lines of thought which lie at the basic meaning of *ṣn'*. The one, deriving from the side of Aramaic, gives us the meaning "guard, hold back, reserve". The other, deriving from the side of South Semitic, gives us the meaning "strengthen". The next question we have to ask is—are these two lines of thought ultimately connected? We may believe that they are. A guarded place is a strong place; reserves are strength. We may thus think of a root *ṣn'* with the basic meaning "guard, strengthen". The guarded, strong man is moreover in a state of readiness. "To be at the ready" is to be on guard. With this line of thought may be linked the rendering of *hasnē'a* in Mic. vi, 8, by the LXX by ἐτοιμον εἶναι,⁵ and Theodotion's translation of *ṣnū'im* in Prov. xi, 2, by ἐπικρῶν "able, capable".⁶ In this connection it is interesting to note that in 1840 Samuel Lee, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, found the primitive notion of the root *ṣn'* to consist in readiness, activity, or the like.⁷

With this meaning for *ṣn'* in mind—the double meaning "guard, strengthen"—and for *ṣānū'a* the meaning "guarded, reserved, circumspect, discreet, careful", we may now go on to consider four passages in Ben Sira in which *ṣn'* occurs—interestingly enough in precisely those parts of the verb which occur in the Old Testament, viz. the Hiph. Inf. Absolute and the Passive Participle Qal. In each of the passages to be considered it will be seen that the basic meaning which we have obtained for *ṣn'* is more suitable than the meaning "humble, lowly".

(a) xvi, 25.⁸

ובהצנע אחוה דעי

אביעה במשקל רוחי

We may translate:—

"I will pour out my spirit in due measure,
And with due care will I show my knowledge."

Here, בהצנע stands in parallelism with במשקל "in due measure, exactly", and the meaning "with care, circumspection, discretion, moderation" for הצנע suits the context well, as some commentators have seen.⁹ The Greek has ἐν ἀκριβείᾳ¹⁰ "with exactness, precision".

¹ FIELD, op. cit., ii, 996.

² See CIS, Pars 4, Tom. i, fasc. i, p. 2; J. H. MORDTMANN and E. MITTWOCH, *Sabäische Inschriften*, p. 3, n. 2, and p. 262. Cf. further BROCKELMANN, op. cit., loc. cit.

³ JASTROW, op. cit., p. 1292; LEVY, *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterb.*, iv, 205.

⁴ DILLMANN, *Lex. Ling. Aeth.*, 1288 ff.

⁵ Similarly Pesh. and Arabic Version. For the latter, see WALTON, *Bibl. Polygl.*, ad loc.

⁶ FIELD, op. cit., ii, 331.

⁷ *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, p. 516.

⁸ This and other references to Ben Sira are cited from R. SMEND, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach*.

⁹ See, e.g. I. LÉVI, *L'Ecclésiastique* (deuxième partie), p. 121; SMEND, op. cit., p. 27 (of his translation). Cf. his commentary, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach erklärt*, p. 153. See further, S. SCHECHTER and C. TAYLOR, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, p. xxxiv, et al.

¹⁰ J. H. A. HART, *Ecclesiasticus in Greek*, p. 140, compares ἀκριβείᾳ here with Symmachus' ἐπιμελέσι in Prov. xi, 2.

(b) xxxiv, 22 (E.V. xxxi, 22).

בכל מעשיך היה צנוע וכל אסון לא יגע בך

We may translate:—

"In all thy works be careful,
And no trouble shall touch thee."

Clearly "humble" is not suitable here, as commentators have again seen.¹ The Greek has *γινώσκον ἐνδεχέτης* "be skilful, ready".

(c) xxxv, 3 (E.V. xxxii, 3).

מלל שב כי הוא לך והצנוע שכל ואל תמנע שיר

We may translate:—

"Speak, old man, for it becomes thee,
Being careful ³ as to the sense, ³ and hinder not song."

For *הצנוע שכל* the Greek has *ἐν ἀκριβεῖ ἐπιστάτης* "with exact (or accurate) knowledge".

(d) xlii, 8.

והיית זהיר באמת ואיש צנוע לפני כל חי

We may translate:—

"And so thou shalt be truly careful,
And a discreet ⁴ man before all living."

We may next ask whether, from the basic meaning of *šn'* which we have obtained—the meaning "guard, strengthen"—the translation "humble, lowly" can be justified. There is ancient authority for this meaning. In Prov. xi, 2, the LXX translates *šnū'im* by *ταπεινών*, while the Vulgate has an abstract noun *humilitas*.⁵ As for Mic. vi, 8, we have seen that the evidence of the versions lends no support to this meaning. Yet it may perhaps be seen from this passage in Micah how the meaning "humble" for *šn'* has come about. For a man who is guarded, careful, in walking with his God, in carrying out the divine will, is, in relation to God, humble, or pious.⁶ The meaning "humble" is, however, a secondary meaning, and is not the primary meaning of the root. Similarly, with the meaning "be chaste" which *šn'* frequently bears in Jewish Aramaic and New Hebrew.⁷ A woman who is *šnū'ā* is a woman who is "guarded, reserved" in her dealings with men. "Be chaste" is thus, like "be humble", a secondary meaning of the root. In this connection may be mentioned the use in Arabic of *ḥaṣuna*, meaning both "be inaccessible, fortified" and "be chaste".⁸ Similarly, the Arabic *haruza* is used in the double sense of "be fortified, strong" (cf. South Arabic *šn'*, v. *supra*) and

¹ See SMEND, op. cit., p. 54; LÉVI, op. cit., p. 147. Cf. the similarly worded precept in Tobit, iv, 14.

² Cf. SCHECHTER and TAYLOR, op. cit., p. xxxviii; SMEND, op. cit., p. 55; LÉVI, op. cit., p. 153. HART, op. cit., p. 182, translates the phrase "preserve intelligence".

³ For this meaning of *sekhel*, cf. Neh. viii, 8.

⁴ Cf. LÉVI, op. cit., p. 49; SCHECHTER and TAYLOR, op. cit., p. xxxiv, *et al.*, LXX *θεδοκιμασμένος*.

⁵ W. FRANKENBERG, *Die Sprüche*, p. 71 f., thinks Jerome is probably right in taking *šnū'im* as a substantive.

⁶ Cf. the remarks of HART, op. cit., p. 300, on the Pharisees. It is interesting to note that the same development of thought is to be seen in the Greek *δουλοῦ βεβαιότητα*. The first meaning given to this word by LIDDELL and SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (H. STUART JONES and R. MCKENZIE), p. 426, is "take good heed to, beware of, be on one's guard against". The second meaning is "reverence". Cf. further the Arabic *taqā* "was cautious, guarded", and then "fear" (God), LANE, *Arab. Eng. Lex.*, 309 f.

⁷ See, e.g. JASTROW, op. cit., p. 1290 ff.

⁸ LANE, op. cit., 586.

"be pious".¹ Mention may be made also of the Syriac phrase *naphshā lā m^hasanthā-anima haud munita*, "an unguarded soul," and so *tentationibus obnoxia*.²

Brief reference must now be made to two further questions. The first is the view that *šn'* is an Aramaism in Hebrew.³ This view is based upon one-sided evidence. That we have called Jewish Aramaic into service for the purpose of arriving at the basic meaning of *šn'* has already been shown. But we have considered also the evidence of South Arabic. Now if we are right in seeing an ultimate identity between the Aramaic *šn'* "guard, keep back", and the South Arabic *šn'* "strengthen", we can as easily speak of an Arabism in Hebrew as of an Aramaism. Rather may we suppose, however, that *šn'* is an ancient Semitic root, and if it is, we may postulate the existence of such a root in ancient Hebrew, and we may suppose that it could have appeared in Hebrew literature at any period—whether in the eighth century, if Mic. vi, 8, belongs to this century, or to the post-exilic period, if it belongs to this later period. If Mic. vi, 8, as well as Prov. xi, 2, is post-exilic, as is Ben Sira, we should have an example of an ancient Hebrew word appearing for the first time in late passages, a phenomenon with which we are to-day quite familiar.⁴ Some scholars, who regard Mic. vi, 8, as early, and who have found it difficult to account for the presence of a supposed Aramaism in early literature, have not hesitated to emend *hašne'a* in this passage.⁵ If, however, it be recognized that *šn'* is no Aramaism in Hebrew, but has a rightful place in the vocabulary of ancient Hebrew, their difficulty disappears, and with it the necessity they have felt for emendation.⁶

The second question which we have to consider is the relation of *šn'* to other Semitic roots. We have seen that the Hebrew *šāna'* = Aramaic (Syr.) *š'na'* = South Arabic *šn'* = Ethiopic *šan'a*, with the double meaning "guard, strengthen". The suggestion has been made by many scholars that *šn'* is cognate with the common Arabic *šana'a* "make skilfully, well; take good care of".⁷ The derivative *šin'* means "fortress", and *mašāni'* (plural of *mašna'a*) has the same sense⁸ (cf. South Arabic *mšn'*, v. *supra*). This Arabic root is, we believe, certainly to be identified with our Hebrew root. In the meaning "make skilfully, well" we may perhaps see a weakening of an original meaning "strengthen". This is, we believe, the only Arabic cognate of those which have been proposed where we find a true cognate with *šn'*, for we cannot but feel much doubt about others which have been advanced, e.g. *dara(i)'a* "was lowly, humble",⁹ and *ḏana'a* VIII "was abashed at, shy".¹⁰ These

¹ Ibid., 545.

² PAYNE SMITH, op. cit., 1335.

³ See, e.g. SIEGFRIED-STADE, *Hebr. Wörterb. zum A.T.*, p. 630; STADE in C. H. Toy, *The Book of Proverbs* (Intern. Crit. Comm.), p. 225; F. SCHWALLY, *ZATW*, 1890, p. 222.

⁴ See the present writer in *The Recovery of the Ancient Hebrew Language*, p. 18 f.

⁵ e.g. SCHWALLY, op. cit., loc. cit. See further, J. M. P. SMITH, op. cit., p. 124. In Prov. xi, 2, *š'nu'im* has been emended to *nō'āšim* (cf. xiii, 10b); see Toy, op. cit., loc. cit., and cf. LAGARDE, *Anmerkungen zur griech. Übersetzung d. Prov.*, p. 36.

⁶ Their difficulty is in any case not a real one, for early Aramaisms are to be expected in Hebrew. See the present writer, in *Record and Revelation*, ed. H. WHEELER ROBINSON, p. 386 f.

⁷ See, e.g. GESENIUS-BUHL, loc. cit.; BROCKELMANN, op. cit., loc. cit.; PAYNE SMITH, op. cit., 3421. LAGARDE, *Mittheil.*, i, p. 81, remarks that the LXX's ἐτοίμος in Mic. vi, 8, reflects Arabic *šana'a* = Syr. *š'na'*. For Arab *šana'a* = Eth. *šan'a*, see M. BITTNER, in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, xiv (1900), no. 4, p. 371.

⁸ LANE, op. cit., 1735.

⁹ So J. BARTH, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebr. u. aram. Lexicon*, p. 42; F. HITZIG, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*, p. 229; cf. P. HAUPT, *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xxvi, p. 241.

¹⁰ So LEVY, *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterb.*, iv, 204; see further, LAGARDE, *Bild. d. Nomina*, p. 21, and p. 66 of *Register u. Nachträge* to this work.

roots are to be regarded as quite distinct from the Hebrew *šn'*. It is difficult to see any justification for Gesenius' *dana(i)'a* "submit se alicui, et in malam partem, abiectus, vilis fuit",¹ or Hitzig's² equation with *ḏaniya* "was slender, diseased". There is, so far as I know, no root in Accadian to which *šn'* may be referred; nor has it turned up yet at Ras Shamrah. The occurrence of it in Samaritan—to translate the word *mishteh* "feast" in Gen. xxi, 8³—is to be explained by reference to the Arabic *ṣana'a* VIII "prepare a banquet" (*ṣani'* "banquet").⁴

We may now turn to consider a Hebrew word which at first sight would seem to have little, if anything, to do with the root *šn'*, viz. the word *q^edhōrannīth* in Mal. iii, 14. The suggestion I wish to make is that the phrases *הַצְנוּעַ לַכֶּתֶם* in Mic. vi, 8, and *הִלְכְנוּ קִרְדִּינִית מִפְּנֵי* in Mal. iii, 14, mean basically very much the same thing.

The English Versions translate *q^edhōrannīth*, which occurs only in this passage, by "mournfully" (A.V. marg. "in black"; R.V. marg. "in mourning apparel"), and this is the meaning generally given to the word by lexicographers⁵ and commentators.⁶ This meaning is obtained by connecting *q^edhōrannīth* with the root *qdhr* (= *qadhi(u)ra* "be dirty")⁷ which means "be dark" (see, e.g. Mic. iii, 6, Ezek. xxxii, 7 f., Jo. ii, 10, iv, 15). The meaning "mourn" for *qdhr* appears to rest upon a supposed connection between the ideas "be black" and "mourn", the connection being explained by the squalid dress worn by the mourner.⁸ The phrase "we walk mournfully" has been explained in a variety of ways.⁹ Quite different from this treatment of *q^edhōrannīth* is that of Perles,¹⁰ who regards the word with suspicion, and suggests that in its place *q^edhādhannīth* should be read. This word, from the root *qdhdh*, means "bowed down", and is the etymological equivalent of the Accadian *kaḏādāniš* "with bowed head". It was *q^edhādhannīth*, not *q^edhōrannīth*, which, Perles believes, was perhaps read by the LXX (ἰκέται), Pesh. (*makikā'īth*), and Targ. (במכיכות רוח).¹¹ Similarly, he suggests that *qōdherim* (*sh^ephālīm*) in Job v, 11, should be read *qōdherim*; and, in fact, wherever *qōdhēr* is combined with *hālakh*,¹² he is inclined to think that *qōdhēdh* should be read. Haupt¹³ has made the same suggestion about *qādhērū* in Jer. xiv, 2, where *qādhēdhū*, he thinks, should be read. And recently T. H. Gaster,¹⁴ independently of Perles and Haupt, has recommended the reading *qōdhēdh* for *qōdhēr* in some passages.¹⁵

¹ *Thesaurus Ling. Hebr. et Chald.*, p. 1175.

² op. cit., loc. cit.

³ WALTON, op. cit., ad loc. Cf. M. HEIDENHEIM, *Die samar. Pent.-Version. Die Genesis*, p. 24.

⁴ LANE, op. cit., 1733 f.; cf. HAVA, *Arab. Eng. Dict.*, p. 407.

⁵ BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS, p. 871; GESENIUS-BUHL, p. 702, et al.

⁶ e.g. NOWACK, op. cit., p. 409; SELLIN, op. cit., p. 613; F. HORST, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten, Nahum-Malachi*, p. 264; J. M. P. SMITH, *The Book of Malachi* (Intern. Crit. Comm.), p. 76; A. VON BULMERINCQ, *Kommentar zum Buche des Propheten Maleachi* (Acta et Commentationes Univ. Tartuensis), 1932, p. 476, et al.

⁷ BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS, p. 871, et al. The Arabic root *kadi(u)ra* is sometimes brought into connection with *qdhr*; see, e.g. BARTH, op. cit., p. 43.

⁸ See I. BENZINGER, *Hebr. Archäologie*, 3rd ed., p. 244, and the references in VON BULMERINCQ, op. cit., p. 476.

⁹ See VON BULMERINCQ, op. cit., pp. 476 ff.

¹⁰ *Analekten zur Textkritik des A.T.*, N.F., 1922, p. 36 f.

¹¹ *Vulg. tristes*; Arab. *sā'ilīn* (supplices). The Eth. text is obscure; see VON BULMERINCQ, op. cit., p. 475.

¹² As in Ps. xxxviii, 7; xlii, 10; xliii, 2; Job xxx, 28.

¹³ In *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xxvi, p. 213.

¹⁴ In *Semitic Studies in memory of Immanuel Löw*, ed. A. SCHEIBER, 1947, p. 287.

¹⁵ In Gen. xxv, 13, Samar. has *qdhdh* for *qdhr* (Κηδαρ). See Supplement to HATCH and REDPATH, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, p. 98.

The suggestion may, however, be made that *q^ddhōrannīth* has nothing to do with *q^dhr* = *qadhi(ū)ra*, but is to be derived from a root *q^dhr* = *qadara*. This Arabic root means "measured" (quantity, measure, size, bulk, proportion, etc.). In the Koran (vi, 91) we have *mā qadarū 'llāha haqqa qadrihi* "they have not estimated God with the estimation that is due to him", or "they have not magnified or honoured God with the magnifying or honouring that is due to him". The noun *qadr* means "quantity", then "estimation, value, majesty".¹ There is a most interesting rendering in Erpenius' Arabic Bible of 1616 of the word εὐσχημόνως "decently" in 1 Cor. xiv, 40, by *biqadrin*.² This rendering may suggest that *q^ddhōrannīth* in Mal. iii, 14, may mean "in due measure, proportion", i.e. moderately, decently, discreetly. If this should be the meaning, we should have a more general parallel to the other phrases in this verse than the usual "walk mournfully". It is vain, the people say, to serve God (עבד אלהים), and what profit is it, they ask, that they have kept his charge (שמר משמרת), and that they have walked moderately (decently, discreetly) before him, i.e. piously, reverently, humbly. It may be mentioned here that the Latin *modestus* is connected with *modus* "measure". In the same way, it is suggested, *q^ddhōrannīth* is to be connected with *qadara* "measure", and means, therefore, much the same thing as the Latin *modeste* "moderately, temperately, discreetly". *Modestus* is, as is well known, a meaning often given to *ṣānu'a*. So, from different starting points, the phrases עַם הַצֹּע לֵכָה עִם and הַלֵּךְ קִדְרָנִית מִפְּנֵי develop a like meaning. It may be added that in Ethiopic *maṭan* means "*modus, mensura, quantitas, proportio*, then *auctoritas, honoris gradus* ; and that *maṭna* means *deceat, convenit*.³

We are, of course, aware that there is a danger in the adducing of Arabic roots in explanation of Hebrew roots unless evidence is forthcoming to show that the root in question is an ancient one. In the case of *ṣn'* it is, as has been shown, possible to demonstrate that it is an ancient root—its occurrence in South Arabic carries it far back into antiquity, while the evidence of the LXX at Mic. vi, 8 also carries the root well back into the pre-Christian era. Is there any ancient evidence to support the equation *q^dhr* = *qadara*? Not decisive evidence perhaps. Yet there is one piece of evidence which is at least suggestive. I refer to the LXX's striking rendering of מִן הַקְּדָרִים in the phrase מִן הַקְּדָרִים מִן קֶרֶחַ in Job vi, 16. This phrase means that the streams (the subject of *haqqōdherim* is *n'hālīm* of the previous verse) "are turbid, muddy, because of the ice"—*q^dhr* here = *qadhi(ū)ra* "be dirty".⁴ The LXX translators have here, as so often, mistaken the sense of the Hebrew, but even their mis-translations enable us frequently to recover a lost Hebrew word. And so it may be here. For they translate *haqqōdherim minni* by οἱ τινὲς με διευλαβοῦντο "they who used to be on their guard against me, used to reverence me". Where did they get this meaning for *q^dhr*? Perhaps they gave to *q^dhr* here the meaning which *qadara* can, as we have seen, bear, viz. "magnify, honour" (more literally "put an estimate, value on").⁵ This suggestion must not be pressed too far. But we are perhaps led by it a little way further towards the establishment of a Hebrew root *q^dhr* = *qadara* in ancient time. As was the case with *ṣn'*, there is nothing in Accadian, nor in the vocabulary of Ras Shamrah, so far as I know, to help us.

¹ LANE, op. cit., 2494 f.

² *Novum D.N. Jesu Christi Testamentum Arabice*, p. 446.

³ DILLMANN, op. cit., 221.

⁴ Cf. BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS, p. 871 ; further, DRIVER and GRAY, *The Book of Job* (Internat. Crit. Comm.), p. 63.

⁵ C. J. BALL, *The Book of Job*, p. 161, thinks that διευλαβοῦντο represents an original *y^ghōrīm*.

In conclusion it may be recalled that Julius Fürst¹ explained *haqqōdh^erim* in Job vi, 16, by reference to *qdhr* = *qadara*. The meaning he gave to it is, however, not that which we have suggested for *q^edhōrannīth*, but another, which the root in Arabic can bear, viz. "be able, be strong"—"the streams through ice become thick, solid". Fürst also explained the name *qēdhār* as *Machtvoller* (cf. Arabic *qādir*), again connecting it with *qdhr* = *qadara* "be strong".² These suggestions are of interest in that they illustrate an earlier attempt than my own to equate the Hebrew *qdhr* with the Arabic *qadara*.

D. WINTON THOMAS.

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¹ *Hebr. u. Chald. Wörterb. über das A.T.*, ii, 299, though he regards an explanation from *qdhr* = *qadhi(u)ra* as possible.

² *Ibid.*

SECOND RECENSION OF THE PHœNICIAN INSCRIPTION FROM KARATEPE

The appearance of a second copy (hereafter called B) of the Karatepe inscription, which Professor Bossert has generously placed at our disposal in a transcript made by himself, forms a welcome addition to the imperfectly preserved first recension (which we shall call A). Thanks to this new text, most of the distressing *lacunæ* which marred recension A are now happily filled in. The inscription is virtually complete, but the new text raises problems of its own upon which we shall touch in the course of the following pages.

While we propose limiting ourselves mainly to the linguistic problems presented by this recension, one or two remarks of a more general nature may not be out of place here. One result of the discovery of recension B is that several suggestions and emendations previously made on the basis of recension A can now be discarded. To mention one example. We now know that 'ZTWD was no usurper, but followed his father upon the throne of Adana. The inscription records one serious challenge to 'ZTWD's authority. The rebellion of the MLŠM, whoever they may have been, forced 'ZTWD to "muster horse upon horse, shield upon shield, and camp upon camp". It required the mobilization of all his military resources before these enemies could be crushed. We note, too, that the familiar technique so often employed by the Assyrian kings of transporting populations *en masse* from one end of the kingdom to another found in 'ZTWD a ready adept.

The new text is marred by one very serious mistake, so serious that we venture to think that this recension could hardly have received official sanction. In col. II, lines 16-17, the word which appears in A as MTMLL is in B split up into two meaningless halves separated from each other by several intervening words. It seems scarcely credible that a responsible official could have passed a copy of the inscription disfigured by so grievous a blunder. A more venial example of carelessness is to be seen in col. II, line 13, where a letter, omitted in its original place, is inserted above the line.

Interesting are the references to the sacrifices, giving precise details of the number of sheep and oxen offered daily to every image, "and in the time of ploughing, and in the time of reaping."¹ It is such picturesque details as these which light up for us so obscure a period of history in this part of Asia Minor.

The Text of the new recension inscribed on the monument of 'ZTWD reads as follows:—

COLUMN I

- | | |
|--|---|
| אנך אוֹתוֹד הִבְרַכְבַּעַל עֶבֶד | 1 |
| בַּעַל אֵשׁ אֲדַר אֹרֶךְ מֶלֶךְ דִּנְנִים | 2 |
| פַּעֲלֹן בַּעַל לִדְנִים לֵאב וְלֵאם יִחוּ אֲנִי אֵית | 3 |
| דִּנְנִים יִרְחַב אֲנִי אֶרֶץ עֶמֶק אֲדָן לִמְצַא שׁ | 4 |
| מֵשׁ וְעַד מִבְּאֵי וְכֵן בִּימְתִי כָל נַעַם לִדְנִי | 5 |
| וּשְׁבַע וּמוֹנַעַם וּמֵלֵא אֲנִי עֶקְרַת סַעַר וּפַעֲלִ | 6 |
| אֲנִי סַס עַל סַס וּמִגֵּן עַל מִגֵּן וּמַחֲנֵת עַל | 7 |
| מַחֲנֵת בַּעֲבַר בַּעַל וְלֵאם וּשְׁבַרַת מִלְצֵם... | 8 |
| וְתִדֵּק אֲנִי כָל הָרַע אֵשׁ כֵּן בְּאֶרֶץ וִיטְנָא אֲנִי | 9 |

¹ While the Hebrew Bible makes frequent mention of sacrifices celebrating the harvest, it nowhere records similar sacrifices in connection with the time of ploughing.

- 10 בת אדני בנעם ופעל אנך לשרש אדני נעם
 11 וישב אנך על כסא אבי ושת אנך שלם את
 12 כל מלך ואף באבת פעלן כל מלך בצדקי ו
 13 בחכמתי ובנעם לבי ובן אנך חמית ע
 14 ות בכל קצית על גבלם במקמם באש כן
 15 אשם רעם בעל אגודם אש בל אש עבד
 16 כן לבת מפש ואנך אותוד שתנם תחת פעמ
 17 י ובן אנך חלמית במקמם המת לשבתנם דננ
 18 ים בנחת לבנם וען אנך ארצת עזת במבא
 19 שמש אש בל ען כל המלכם אש כן לפני וא
 20 נך אותוד ענתנם ירדם אנך ישבם אנך
 21 בקצת גבלי במצא שמש ודננים

COLUMN II

- 1 ישבת שם וכן בימתי בכל
 2 גבל עמק אדן לממצא שמש
 3 ועד מבאי ובמקמם אש כן
 4 לפנם נשתעם אש ישתע אדם ללכת
 5 דרך ובימתי אנך אשת תך לחד
 6 י דל פלכם בעבר בעל ואלם
 7 וכן בכל ימתי שבע ומנעם ושבתי
 8 נעמת ונחת לב לדננים ולכל עמ
 9 ק אדן ובן אנך הקרת ו ושת
 10 אנך שם אותודי כ בעל ורשף
 11 צפרם שלחן לבנת ובני אנך ב
 12 עבר בעל ובעבר רשף צפרם ב
 13 שבע ובמנעם ושבתי נעמת ונחת
 14 לב לכני משמר לעמק אדן ולב
 15 ת מפש כ בימתי כן לארץ עמק א
 16 דן שבע ומנעם ובל כן מתם לדני
 17 מ לל בימתי ובן אנך הקרת ו שת
 18 אנך שם אותודי ישב אנך בן
 19 בעל כרנתריש וילך זבה לכל

COLUMN III

- 1 המסכת זבה ימם אלף ו ובלעת חלרש¹
 2 ש ו ובעת קצר ש ו וברך בעל כר[נ]
 3 תריש אית אותוד חים ושלם
 4 ועז אדר על כל מלך לתתי בעל כרנתריש²
 5 וכל אלן קרת לאותוד ארך ימם ורב
 6 שנת ורשאת נעמת ועז אדר על כל מל
 7 ך וכן הקרת זו בעלת שבע ותרש ועם
 8 ו אש ישב בן יכן בעל אלפם ובע
 9 ל צאן ובעל שבע ותרש וברבם ילד

¹ RŠ occurs outside the margin of col. III in Professor BOSSERT's photograph of his own transcription.

² K Š occurs outside the column.

- 10 וברבם יאדר וברבם יעבד לאו
 11 תוד ולבת מפש בעבר בעל ואלם
 12 ואם מלך במלכם ורון ברונם אם א
 13 דם אש אדם שם אש ימח שם אותו
 14 ד בשער ז ושת שם אם אף יחמד אי
 15 ת הקרת ז ויסע השער ז אש פעל א
 16 זתוד ויפעל לשער ז ר[ע] ושת שם עלי
 17 אם בחמדת יסע ואם בשנאת וברע יסע
 18 השער ז ומח בעל שמם ואל קן ארץ
 19 ושמש עלם וכל כל דר בן אלם וואית הממלכת הווא ואית המלך הא וואית
 20 אדם הא אש אדם שם אפס וואית וואית יכן לעלם כם שם וואית וירח²

TRANSLATION :

Column I

1 I am 'ZTWD, the blessed of Ba'al, the servant of 2 Ba'al, whom 'WRK, king of the DNNYM ennobled. 3 Ba'al made me a father and mother to the DNNYM. I preserved 4 the DNNYM. I enlarged the land of the valley of Adana from the rising of the sun 5 to its setting. And in my days there was every good thing for the DNNYM, 6 and plenty and pleasantness. And I filled the store-houses of P'R; and I mustered 7 horse upon horse, and shield upon shield, and camp upon 8 camp, for the sake of Ba'al and the gods. And I shattered the MLŠM . . . 9 and I crushed every wicked man, who was in the land. And I set up 10 the house of my lord in pleasantness. And I laboured to establish my good lord [in it]. 11 And I sat upon the throne of my father. And I made peace with 12 every king; yea, every king treated me in the manner of fathers, by reason of my righteousness, and 13 my wisdom, and the kindness of my heart. And I built strong fortifications 14 in the remotest parts upon the borders, in places where there used to be 15 wicked men, captains of marauding bands, where no man was subject 16 to the house of Mopsos. But I, 'ZTWD, put them under my feet. 17 And I built fortifications in those places that the DNNYM might dwell [there] 18 in the ease of their heart. And I defeated powerful countries in the West 19 which all the kings who were before me had not defeated. But I, 20 'ZTWD, defeated them. I brought them down. I settled them 21 in the end of my borders. And the DNNYM

Column II

1 I settled there. And it was [so] in my days in all 2 the borders of the valley of Adana from the rising of the sun 3 to its setting. And in places where [people] 4 were formerly afraid, so that a man was afraid to go 5 on the road; but in my days I put down(?) oppression for the rejoicing 6 of the poor of the regions, for the sake of Ba'al and the gods. 7 So there was in all my days plenty and pleasantness, and a pleasant seat, 8 and ease of heart for the DNNYM and all the valley 9 of Adana. And I built this city and gave [it] 10 the name 'ZTWDY. For Ba'al and Resheph 11 Šippōrim sent me to build, and I built [it] for 12 the sake of Ba'al and for the sake of Resheph Šippōrim in 13 plenty and in goodness, and for a pleasant seat, and for ease of 14 heart, so that it might be a watch for the valley of Adana and for the house 15 of Mopsos. For in my days there was for the land of the valley of 16 Adana plenty and pleasantness; and there was no man that attacked the DNNYM 17 in my days. And I built this city. I gave [it] the name 'ZTWDY. I caused to dwell therein 18 Ba'al KRNTYŠ. And I brought a sacrifice for every

¹ These lines occur on the margin of the statue.

² These lines are inscribed on the base of the portal lion.

Column III

1 image, a daily sacrifice of one ox, and in the [time of pl]oughing 2 one sheep, and in the time of reaping one sheep. And Ba'al KRNTRYŠ blessed 3 'ZTWD with life and peace, 4 and glorious power above every king, so that Ba'al KRNTRYŠ 5 and all the gods of the city might give to 'ZTWD length of days and a multitude of 6 years, and pleasant lordship and glorious power above every king. 7 And this city became the mistress of plenty and wine. And may this people 8 which dwelt in it become owners of oxen, and owners 9 of sheep, and owners of plenty and wine, and in their multitude may they bring forth (children), 10 and in their multitude may they become mighty, and in their multitude may they serve 11 'ZTWD, and the house of Mopsos, for the sake of Ba'al and the gods. 12 And if [there be] a king amongst kings, and a prince among princes, or a 13 man, wherever the man is, who shall blot out the name of 'ZTWD 14 on this gate, and shall put his name [on it]; if he even desires 15 this city and shall remove this gate which 'ZTWD made, 16 and shall do [mischief?] to this gate, and put his name upon it; 17 if he shall remove [it] out of covetousness, or if he shall remove this gate out of hate and evil; 18 then let the lord of heaven, and Ēl, the possessor of the earth, 19 and the everlasting sun, and all the generations of the sons of the gods, blot out that (great) king and that (little) king, and 20 that man, wherever the man is. But let the name of 'ZTWD endure for ever, like the name of the sun and the moon.

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

Of the many editions of Recension A which have appeared since the publication of the copy made by Professor Bossert,¹ special praise must be given to that of A. M. Honeyman.² He was the first to explain from the Ugaritic the significance of the combination of the infinitive and the personal pronoun to be found so frequently in the inscription. He rightly saw that this peculiar verbal form had the force of the past tense.³ Such a combination of infinitive plus the personal pronoun may well represent one of the earliest attempts of the Semites to establish a scheme of tenses. That such a usage should have survived side by side with the perfect tense is curious.

Column I

Line 2. 'WRK. Bossert, who has published a first instalment of an edition of the bilingual inscription,⁴ suggests that this person may be the same as Urikki, king of ẖue (740-732 B.C.). If this king was the father of 'ZTWD, then the latter's date must be assigned to about 730 B.C., as ẖue had already been incorporated as a province of the Assyrian Empire between 725 and 715 B.C.

Line 6. 'QRT. On the basis of the Hittite inscription Bossert renders this word by either "palaces" or "depots".⁵ P'R is equated by Bossert with the Assyrian Paḥri.⁶

Line 8. MLŠM may be rendered either as "interpreters" or "scorners". The first meaning may be discarded as inappropriate. On the other hand, the

¹ *Karatepe: Kadiri and Its Environs*, in *Publications of the University of Istanbul*, No. 340, 1947.

² In *Le Muséon*, lxi, 1-2, pp. 43-57.

³ The words WŠKR 'NK in the Kilamū stele, lines 7-8, may now be taken as another example of this usage.

⁴ *Belleten* (published in Ankara), tom. xii, pp. 523-531. The instalment only extends to a portion corresponding roughly to lines 1-8 of B, col. I.

⁵ l.c., p. 530.

⁶ *ibid.*

word may conceal a proper name.¹ Or did the original draft have MLKM, "kings"?

Line 9. WTDQ is difficult. We should expect WYDQ, the If'il of DQQ, "I crushed." WYṬN' is the If'il of ṬN', "to set up." See COOKE, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 58.

Line 10. LŠRŠ has here the sense of "take root", and not "uproot".

Line 17. B has here HNYT, in contradistinction to A, which reads HMYT, the obviously correct form. The extra "tooth" which distinguishes the *mēm* from the *nūn* may have faded with time. Another example of the confusion of the *mēm* with the *nūn* occurs in col. II, line 12.

Column II

Line 5. ŠT is difficult. As this portion deals with events in the past we should have expected either a perfect tense or the infinitive with the pronoun, which does duty for the past. HONEYMAN (*Le Muséon*, lxi, 1-2, p. 55), translates, "I impose submission," taking (presumably) ŠT as the *kal* imperfect of *šith*. OBERMANN (*JAOS.*, July-Sept., 1948, *Supplement*, p. 39) similarly renders: "I do put restraint to strife." MARCUS AND GELB (*JNES.*, vii, July, 1948, note in typescript), render: "And in my days I softened (or weakened) oppression." What would appear most suitable is a verb meaning "I suppressed or put down (oppression)."

Line 6. W'LM. A reads in the corresponding passage: WB'BR 'LM.

Line 12. B reads ŠPRN, in contradistinction to ŠPRM, the reading of A, which is obviously correct. See note on col. I, line 17.

Lines 16-17. MTM . . . LL. On the peculiar splitting up of this word in B, see the introduction above.

Line 17. ŠT. A has WŠT.

Column III

Line 1. MSKT. The meaning of the word in this context is 'image', rather than 'libation'. It is in the latter sense that it is used in Isaiah xxx, 1.

Line 7. TRŠ i.e. *tirōš*, the abundance of which is also considered a sign of prosperity in the Hebrew Bible.

Line 11. W'LM. B reads WB'BR 'LM (see also col. II, line 6).

Line 16. R[']. We have ventured to insert 'ayin, which seems the most obvious solution.

Line 19. HMMLKT, etc. In the Eshmun-'azar inscription, only two classes of likely violators are mentioned: the MMLKT and 'DM; whereas in the Ahiram inscription three categories, the MLK, SKN, and the mysterious TM' MHNT, are specified.

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CYRIL MOSS.

British Museum.

¹ Our colleague, R. D. BARNETT, suggests, with all due caution, that the Malatians (who lived in North Syria) are here referred to.

EPITAPH OF JONAH DURAN FOUND NEAR TOULON

"La Martelle" is a well-kept farm situated in the open country, between the harbour of Toulon and the village of Ollioules some five miles away, in the Var Department of Southern France.

About twenty years ago, the present owner made an interesting discovery. He decided to make an opening in the south-west side of his farm. For this purpose he had to demolish a small wall, which stood in front of the place which he had chosen for piercing a door and barred his way to it. He found a white marble slab, which had been laid upon this wall, and covered with a layer of mortar. After scraping this off, an inscription was revealed, which was completely unintelligible to the farmer. The slab was then removed to the farm wash-house, where it has since served for washing linen.

The slab is 5 ft. 4 in. long, 1 ft. 6 in. wide, and 5 inches thick. On its polished surface a Hebrew inscription extending to fourteen lines is incised.

Between the first line and the upper edge of the slab there is a space of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and a space of 2 ft. 3 in. between the last line and the bottom of the stone. The engraved letters measure approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height.

The inscription contains the epitaph of Rabbi Jonah ben Simeon Duran,¹ Dayyan, member of the famous family of that name, and seventh in descent from that eminent scholar, Simeon ben Zemaḥ Duran, better known as the Tashbez.²

Of this Jonah Duran very little is known. Although it is frequently necessary to treat with caution the inscription on a tombstone, where eulogy so often outstrips truth, we are able to glean here certain factual details about the deceased scholar. He is described as a Dayyan, but unfortunately the name of the city or district in which he exercised his rabbinical authority is not stated. As the tombstone was discovered in a farm near Toulon, it may be presumed that it was here that the Dayyan lived and officiated. We learn also from the epitaph that Jonah died of a lingering and painful illness in the month of Nisan (8th April–7th May), 5385 (A.D. 1625). The exact date of his death is not given, the exigencies of metre no doubt being responsible for this omission.

Although the inscription pays tribute to Jonah's profound knowledge of the Mishnah and Gemara, no Rabbinic commentaries or even responsa of his seem to be recorded.

All that has survived of his writings is preserved in his preface to the *Hesheq Shelomoh*, Venice, 1623, the well-known commentary on the Book of Proverbs by his uncle Solomon ben Zemaḥ Duran, Rabbi in Algiers.³

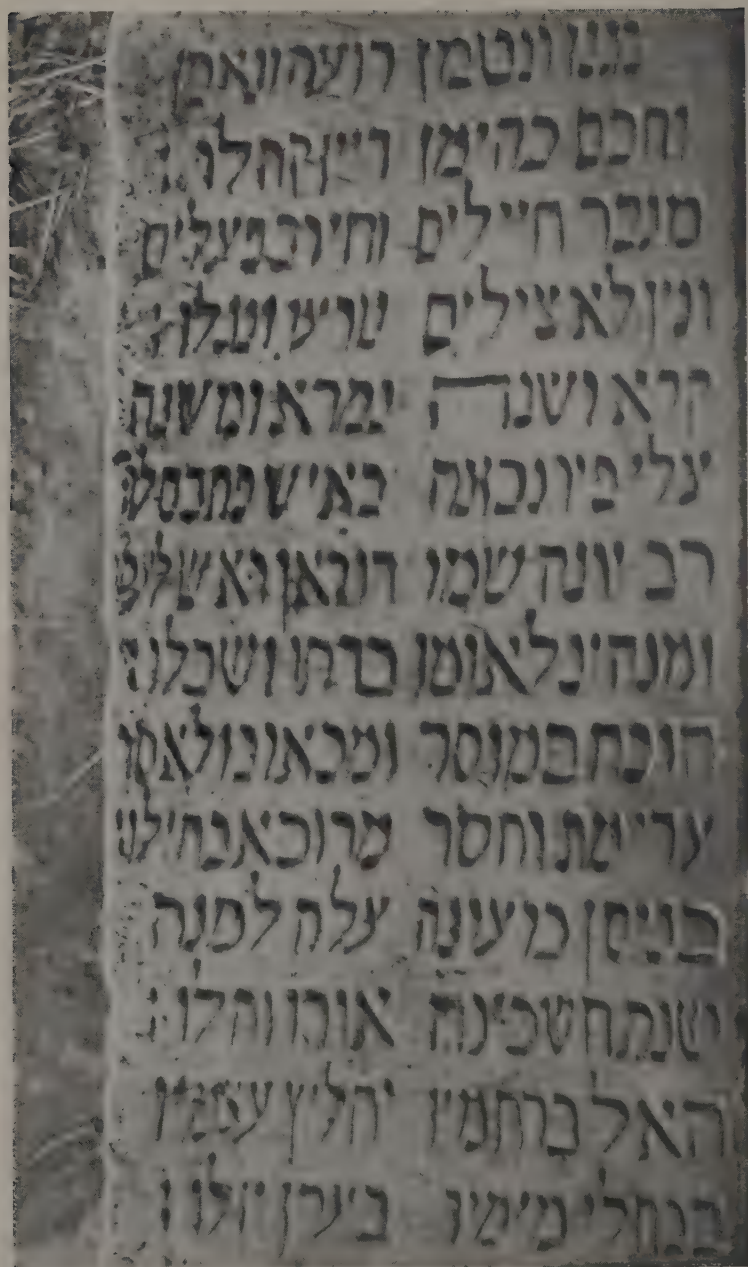
As we gather from this preface, which is incidentally written in a most degenerate euphuistic style, Solomon ben Zemaḥ completed his commentary on Heshvān 2, (5)353 (8th October, 1592). The long delay between the completion of the MS. and its publication in 1623 is partly accounted for by the death of the author's only son Zemaḥ,⁴ a promising young scholar, in 1604.

¹ The name has no connection with Oran ("d'Oran"), as some scholars were inclined to believe, but is a very frequent family name in the Provence. The alternative form of "Durand" is more often to be found.

² The genealogy of the Duran family is given by STEINSCHNEIDER, *Cat. Bodl.*, col., 2309–10, and in *J.E.*, s.v. *Duran*.

³ In addition to this commentary, Solomon Duran is the author of responsa, which are included in the Amsterdam (1738) edition of the *Tashbez*.

⁴ Zemaḥ's name is preserved as the author of a *she'elah* addressed to his father. It deals with the deposit of a pledge. See *Sepher ha-Tashbez*, Amsterdam, 1738, pt. 4, fol. 25a.



EPITAPH OF JONAH DURAN

facing page 195.]

This so overwhelmed him that he had no heart for publishing his work. Before his death, however (it would seem that the father did not long survive his son) he handed his manuscript over to his nephew Jonah, enjoining him to see it through the press as a memorial both to himself and his son.

Another preface in the same work, written in equally florid and tedious Hebrew, is by Jonah's brother, Zemah. It recapitulates the facts of the first preface. The only additional piece of information which we can obtain is that Zemah also was asked by the author to act as his literary executor. The business of seeing the commentary through the press was thus the joint work of the two brothers.

Text of Epitaph :¹

רועה ונאמן	1 נגזז ונטמן
דיין קהלו:	2 וחכם כהימן ²
והי רב פעלים	3 מגבר חיילים ³
גודעו ונגלו:	4 ונין לאצילים
גמרא ומשנה	5 קרא ⁴ ושנה
כאיש פת בסלו:	6 עלי פיו נכונה
דוראן ראש לעמו	7 רב יונה שמו
בדתו ושכלו:	8 ומנהיג לאומו
ומכאובו לא סר	9 הוכח במוסר ⁵
מדוכא בחילו:	10 עדי מת והסר ⁷
עלה ⁶ למנה	11 בניסן מעונה
אורו והלו:	12 שנת השכינה ⁸
יחליץ עצמו ¹⁰	13 האל ברחמיו
בעדן יולו:	14 בנחלי מימי

TRANSLATION

- 1 Hidden and concealed, [is] a faithful shepherd,
- 2 and a wise man like Heman ; a Dayyan of his congregation.
- 3 An increaser of strength, and an active man, mighty in deeds ;
- 4 Yea, a descendant of nobles¹¹ [who] were known and famous.
- 5 He read (sc. the Torah), and studied Gemara and Mishnah ;

¹ The inscription consists of seven couplets in the metre called *mutaqārib* (*fa'ūlun, fa'ūlun, fa'ūlun*, the short foot being sometimes omitted.) It belongs to the form of composition known amongst the Arabs as *murabba'*, and was taken over, with many others, from them by the Jews in the Middle Ages. The first three *stichoi* of each couplet are distinguished by the same rhyme, whereas the rhyme of the last *stichos* in each couplet is repeated through the seven couplets. The latter rhyme is in this poem *lo*, but in two cases (lines 4 and 14) the ending *lu* is admitted, as a kind of poetic license. The scheme of the rhymes thus follows the order *aaax, bbbx*, etc.

² A wise man, who is compared with Solomon in 1 Kings v, 11 (iv, 31, in *R.V.*).

³ cf. Eccl. x, 10.

⁴ *Qara'* is used primarily for the study of the Torah.

⁵ See *Yoma*, 74b.

⁶ cf. Job xxxiii, 19.

⁷ *h̄sr* can be vocalized *hussar*, "he was missed," or *hasar* (the pausal form of *haser*), "he was missing."

⁸ The '*ayin* looks more like a *zade*, which points to the probability of the mason being (as so often) a non-Jew. The second *he* stands for 5000, the whole date thus being A.M. 5375, which corresponds to A.D. 1625.

⁹ The mason has incised a *heth* for the first *he*.

¹⁰ cf. Isaiah lviii, 11.

¹¹ The "nobles" refer, of course, here to the aristocracy of Rabbinic learning.

- 6 Upon his mouth it (sc. the Mishnah) was ready ; like a man in whose
basket there is (always) bread.
- 7 Rabbi Jonah Duran was his name, yea, a chief of his nation ;
8 and a leader of his people, by his faith and understanding.
- 9 He was corrected with chastisement, and his pain did not depart,
10 until he died and was missed, shattered by his anguish.
- 11 In Nisan he went up to heaven, as his portion ;
12 [in] the year *hash-Shekhinah*, [was] his light and brightness.
- 13 May God in his mercy invigorate his bones
14 with the rivers of his waters (which) flow in Eden.

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מעט חבק ידים לשכב

(Proverbs vi, 10 ; xxiv, 33)

All modern commentators, as far as I am aware, maintain the rendering "a little folding of the hands to sleep". Apart from giving to *shākhabh* the sense of "to sleep" this translation also presupposes that the pattern *qittāl* is the verbal noun of the Pi'el, as later in Mishnaic Hebrew. This supposition is not supported by any of the other occurrences of this pattern, which show on the contrary that it serves as a passive participle,¹ both of the Qal and of the Pi'el.

Connection with the Qal is certain in *zimmūqīm* "raisins" (= shrivelled things), *'izzūz* "mighty", *zēru'a* "thing sown". Probably Qal are *limmūdāh* "accustomed, having learnt"², *bikkūrāh* "early fig", *bikkūrīm* "first fruits"³, *millū'āh* "setting of a jewel"⁴, *shiqqūy* "that which is given to drink".⁵

The following are derived from the Pi'el: *zippūy* "plating, metal laid on", *shillūm* "what is paid", *shiqqūz* "what is abhorred", *pittūah* "that which is engraved", probably also *benē shikkūlayikh* "thy sons, thy lost ones".⁶ The etymology of *gillūlim* "idols" is unknown.

It will be seen that rendering as verbal noun fits in none of these instances. We should not be deceived by English renderings such as sowing, drink, payment, which are due to English idiom.

As passive participle of the Qal, *qittāl* must have arisen by two processes: doubling of the consonant to preserve the short unstressed vowel, as in other forms of the passive Qal; and attenuation of the short *a* in an unstressed syllable. The forms *qātāl*, *qattāl*,⁷ and *qittāl* appear side by side, often in the same words, either as remnants of different dialects or traditions, or because at the time the tradition of the Bible text was fixed this development was still in a state of flux.

In the Pi'el, *qittāl* cannot be phonetically derived from the usual *m^eqittāl*.⁸ It has a parallel in the Ethiopic form *feššūm*. Ethiopic possesses a complete set of such passive participles without *m-* for all *binyānim*; they are usually explained as analogical formations, but may, in fact, represent an older stage of Semitic. Hebrew and Ethiopic share several archaic traits.

While *qittāl* never is a verbal noun, *qittālīm* often is: *shimmūrīm* "watching" (Qal), *giddūphīm* "cursing", *niḥūmīm* "consoling", *shillūhīm* "sending-away", *ṭippūhīm* "dandling". In the same way as the plural here, the feminine ending in Arabic turns a passive participle into a verbal noun in *mufa'alatun*. This use of the plural may have led to the use of singular *qittāl*

¹ Its meaning is often not passive, but that of an active perfect participle; cf. also *zākhār* "remembering", *'āhūz* "having grasped", etc. Cf. SEGAL, *Mishnaic Hebrew Grammar*, § 336. Semitic may well have had, like Ancient Egyptian, participles corresponding to its different tenses.

² cf. *l'mūdāh*, 1 Chron. v, 18. The meaning "being taught" rarely fits.

³ No Qal of the root is preserved in Hebrew, but the meaning of the Pi'el does not suit too well. The Pi'el appears even to be derived from *bikkūrīm*.

⁴ It may be taken either as "that which is full" or "that which is filled". The "filling" would be the jewel itself.

⁵ cf. Arabic Qal *saqā* = Hebrew *hishqāh*.

⁶ For the construction cf. *ʾēnē ha-bakkūrōth* "the figs, the early figs", Jer. xxiv, 2.

⁷ As *bakkūrāh*, *shakkūlāh*.

⁸ Which is found in Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Arabic.

for the verbal noun ¹ in Mishnaic Hebrew. In later Arabic we often find *mustaf'al*, passive participle of the tenth form, used as a verbal noun.

To return to our passage in Proverbs: *hibbuq yādhayim* is to be taken as a genitive of specification "folded as to the hands". The meaning "to fold" pertains only to the Qal, so that *hibbuq* is passive participle of the Qal. Joining *m'e'at* with *lishkābh*, we can thus render: "A little sleep, a little slumber, a little to lie down with hands folded."

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¹ Verbal nouns of this pattern are frequently derived from other stems than Pi'el, e.g. *issūr* "prohibition", *līmūdāh* "study" (Qal), *šikkūl ha-lēbh* "contemplation", Aboth vi, 5 (Hiph'il), *widdūy* "confession" (Hithpa'el).

THE DATING OF THE NEW HEBREW SCROLLS ON INTERNAL EVIDENCE

In his recent *Megilloth Genuzoth*, Professor Sukenik has suggested (p. 18, n. 6) that the occurrence of the rare title *kohen haroš* for the more familiar *hakkohen haggadol* (in the scroll which he calls *milhemeth bene 'or bibne hošek*) supplies a possible *terminus ante quem* for the period of composition. This title for the High Priest does not appear to be found in any post-Hasmonæan document; the Hasmonæans themselves stamped their coins with the inscription *hakkohen haggadol*. The expression occurs at Ezra vii, 5, which suggests that the title belongs to the period of the Restoration.

In a recent reply in the January number of *J.Q.R.*, Dr. Solomon Zeitlin has argued that in Ezra vii, 5, the words are not a title of Aaron as High Priest but a description of him as First Priest, and he compares the LXX reading ἱερέων τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ πρώτου. The argument is not further elaborated, but the point would appear to be that the title *kohen haroš* for the High Priest was not in existence in the period to which Sukenik would assign the scrolls. The expression *kohen haroš* does, however, in fact, appear in the Gaonic literature of the Middle Ages, and Zeitlin refers to Mann's *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs*, vol. ii, p. 275. Its occurrence in such a source is an indication of the mediæval character and origin of the new discoveries.

The term does, however, occur as a title for the High Priest at 2 Chron. xix, 11, where it refers to Amariah, and can only mean High Priest; the LXX here renders ὁ ἱερεὺς ἡγουμένους (at Ezra vii, 5, ἱερέως πρώτου may mean the First Priest *in rank*, and so High Priest). In the literature of the Geonim to which Zeitlin refers, there is one instance only which is relevant, but it proves nothing, for the title is there manifestly derived from Ezra vii, 5; it occurs in a letter beginning "The posterity of Aaron, the High Priest" (*neked 'aharon hakkohen haroš*). Sukenik's argument must, therefore, be allowed to stand, at any rate until more convincing examples are given for the use of the expression in post-Hasmonæan times.

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SURVEY OF CURRENT LITERATURE

H. RINGGREN. *Word and Wisdom: Studies in the Hypostatization of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East*. Hakan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, Lund, 1947. pp. 232.

An outstanding characteristic of the work of Scandinavian O.T. scholars at the present time is the way in which they muster all available material from the ancient Near East and apply it to their investigation of problems that arise in connection with the study of the O.T. The work under review, which is a doctoral thesis submitted to the Theological Faculty of the University of Uppsala, exhibits this same characteristic. Some idea of the enormous area which the author has traversed in his search for his material is afforded by the extensive bibliography, which covers twenty-six pages. The author is fully aware, as he tells us in his Preface, that he has not been able to treat his subject exhaustively. He has accordingly quite deliberately given the name "Studies" to his work.

Some indication of the ground covered may be briefly given. In ch. i (pp. 9-52) the author discusses Egyptian deities with abstract names which may be classed as hypostatized divine qualities, e.g. *Hu* ("word"), *Sia* ("intelligence"), *Hike* ("magic"), *Maat* ("truth"). In ch. ii (pp. 53-73) deities in the Babylonian pantheon whose names consist of abstract nouns are considered, among them *Mšaru* ("righteousness"), *Keitu* ("right"), *Uenu* ("ear, understanding"), *Hastu* ("wisdom"), and *Tašmētu* ("hearing, mercy"). Ch. iii (pp. 74-88) contains an examination of the view that hypostases are to be found in the texts from Ras Shamra, e.g. certain qualities or functions of El; Wisdom; *Šdḫ* and *Yšr*. Ch. iv (pp. 89-171), which treats of Wisdom and other hypostases in the O.T. and later Judaism, is the longest and most important in the book, and will doubtless have a special interest for readers of this journal. The sources which the author studies for his inquiry into the hypostatization of Wisdom include the books of Job, Proverbs, Ben Sira, Baruch, iv Esdras; the Syriac Book of Baruch; the Ethiopic Book of Enoch; Rabbinical Literature; Philo, and the Ethiopic *Kebra Nagast*. After a brief summary of the most important motifs and mythological features which he finds surrounding the conception of Wisdom in these sources, and a short section on the meaning of the term "Wisdom", there follows a consideration of the attempts which have been made to seek the origin of O.T. Wisdom in the religions of the Near East (the

author expresses himself in favour of the view that "the general idea of a goddess has influenced the shaping of personal Wisdom, whether it be from a Hellenistic Isis religion, from an Astarte influenced by Isis, or from a genuine Semitic Ishtar-Astarte", p. 147). Among other hypostases discussed in this chapter are *hesed*, 'emet, the divine Word (which, the author thinks, is hypostatized only seldom in the O.T., p. 159), and the Spirit of Yahweh (which, it is held, only becomes a purely personal spiritual being in later Judaism, p. 167). Ch. v (pp. 172-189) is devoted to a treatment of abstract deities in pre-Islamic Arabia—*Wadd* ("love"), *Ruḡā* ("grace, benevolence"), *Sa'd* ("happiness"), and *Manāt* ("fate"). It may be added here that the author believes, with others of the Uppsala school, in a primitive monotheism. To him, and to those who think like him, the origin of polytheism presents a problem. The hypostatization of divine qualities and functions is, he thinks, one of the factors that has played an active part both in its origin and growth (p. 8, 193).

Detailed comment on so vast a field of inquiry is almost impossible in a short review. Rather may attention be focused on the central importance for an investigation of this kind of definition of terms, in this case, of course, of the term hypostasis. The author favours a wide definition of it, and he approves those given by Oesterley and Box ("a quasi-personification of certain attributes proper to God, occupying an intermediate position between personalities and abstract beings"), and by Mowinkel ("a personification of qualities, functions, limbs, etc., of a higher god") (p. 8). Working to these definitions he can find, for example, in the well-known passage, Prov. viii, 22-31, "the most obvious evidence in Prov. for the hypostatization of Wisdom" (p. 99). A scholar like H. Wheeler Robinson, however, working to the definition of a hypostasis as "an entity conceived to exist in independence of man's thought and to mediate between God and man", asks, in reference to the same passage—"is it more than a personification in the familiar Hebrew way of making vivid individualization replace our abstract thought?"—and he goes on to say that Wisdom here "is not an entity in its own right, though this poetical description depicts it as having an independent existence" (*Inspiration and Revelation in the O.T.*, p. 259 f.). Wheeler Robinson's definition of a hypostasis may well seem to some the better definition, if only for the reason that it is less vague than those

of Oesterley-Box and Mowinkel. Be that as it may, it is clear that, lacking an agreed definition, scholars will inevitably continue to differ in their interpretation of the evidence, and the presence of hypostases which will be claimed by some will be denied, or at least questioned, by others. It is a merit of the author of this book that he feels the necessity of stating clearly at the outset what he understands by the term hypostasis, and there can be no denying that the case which is based upon the definitions he accepts is argued by him most competently and well. His wide acquaintance with the languages and literatures of the ancient Near East, combined with his skill in controlling the mass of varied material with which he has had to deal, has enabled him to produce a book which will be of great use to biblical scholars and to orientalist alike. It could have been made even more useful if, in addition to the indices of biblical passages and of authorities, a general index had been provided.

D. WINTON THOMAS.

Cambridge.

S. MOSCATI. *Storia e Civiltà dei Semiti*. 1949. pp. 245. Gius. Laterza and Figli, Bari.

The author's aim in writing this book is a modest one. It is to provide the non-specialist with an introductory manual to the study of ancient Semitic civilization. It consists of ten chapters. Ch. i (pp. 1-12) deals with the geographical setting; ch. ii (pp. 13-24) with the name "Semite", with the Semitic languages and race; ch. iii (pp. 25-38) with the origin of the Semites; ch. iv (pp. 39-92) with the Babylonians and Assyrians; ch. v (pp. 93-118) with the Canaanites; ch. vi (pp. 119-163) with the Hebrews; ch. vii (pp. 164-174) with the Aramaeans; ch. viii (pp. 175-213) with the Arabs, including those of the south; ch. ix (pp. 214-223) with the Ethiopians; ch. x (pp. 224-8) contains a short concluding summary. There is a bibliography (pp. 229-234) in which works written in Italian figure prominently, and also a general index (pp. 237-245). There are thirty-two plates and four maps.

This book does not, as has been indicated, aim at originality. At the same time, it reflects throughout the careful scholarship of the writer. It is generally accurate and reliable and, as is to be expected from a writer who has published valuable compilations of Semitic bibliographies, it is abreast of recent research (e.g. Hammurabi is given his new date, c. 1700 B.C.; p. 47). It may, therefore, be safely put into the hands of the layman

for whom it is written, and by whom it is sure to be welcomed. As he reads it he will not only find himself introduced to a wealth of information concerning the history of the Semites, their languages, literatures, religion, laws, and art, but he will further be led to a clearer perception of the relevance to-day of the study of these antique peoples whose lands gave birth to the three great monotheistic religions of the world—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—and who, by their invention of the alphabet, have put the civilized world for ever in their debt (pp. 226 ff.).

D. WINTON THOMAS.

Cambridge.

A. BENTZEN. *Introduction to the Old Testament*. Vol. I. G. E. C. Gads Forlag, Copenhagen. 1948. pp. 264. 30s.

This, the first volume of Professor Bentzen's *Introduction*, originally published in Danish in 1941, and now translated into English—with some difference in the arrangement of the material as compared with the Danish original—begins with a short chapter on the history of O.T. *Introduction*, its task, and its method (pp. 9-19). Then follow the three main parts of the book. The first (pp. 20-41) deals with the Canon of Palestine (its pre-history, the traditional opinion concerning its origin, its completion, the order of its books, the idea of a Canon among the Palestinian Jews, the Samaritan Canon); with the Canon of Alexandria, and with the Canon of the Church. The second part (pp. 42-101) treats of the Text of the O.T.—with its outward form (writing materials, alphabet, text-division); with the Massoretic Text (the Massoretes and their work, printed editions, manuscripts, vocalization, accentuation); with the ancient versions, and with textual criticism. The third part (pp. 102-264) is devoted to a consideration of the forms of Hebrew poetry and prose.

The first two main parts of the book cover familiar ground. Here the author's indebtedness to the work of Kahle, especially to his *Schweich Lectures* of 1941 (*The Cairo Geniza*) is everywhere apparent. On the much debated question of the reconstruction of the "Urtext" of the LXX, he endorses Kahle's view that reconstruction of it is impossible (pp. 80 ff.). Readers who wish to hear the other side of this important question argued may care to be referred to Katz's recent article *Das Problem des Urtextes der Septuaginta* (in *Theologische Zeitschrift*, Heft 1, Jan/Feb., 1949, pp. 1-24). In his remarks on errors which have crept

into the Hebrew text, the author refers to errors of the ear, i.e. errors caused through the dictation of the texts to copyists who did not hear exactly what was said (p. 99). Scholars frequently refer to this type of error, but is the belief that biblical manuscripts were dictated anything more than an assumption? The present writer has been at some pains to discover evidence for this belief, but so far he has failed to find any. It would be a service to O.T. scholarship if the evidence, if it exists, could be clearly stated. The author does well to remind us that the textual criticism of the O.T. is still hampered by the lack of adequate editions of some of the chief ancient versions (pp. 67 ff.). And when he says that we are further off than ever from the establishment of the "original text" of the Hebrew Bible (p. 93), he gives expression to a truth which is sometimes not so fully realized as it deserves to be.

The third part of the book—by far the longest—will doubtless have a special interest for English readers, for scholarship in this country has not concerned itself much with the study of the forms of Hebrew literature. While due prominence is given to the pioneering work of Gunkel in this field, the limitations of his methods are recognized (pp. 13 ff., 110 f., 252). On the question of oral tradition, the author is strongly opposed to the "Uppsala School", as it is represented especially by Engnell. This "school" believes that it is the task of O.T. study to go behind what literary criticism calls sources to a study of oral tradition. In consequence, so it is argued, the literary critical method is now quite inadequate for the study of the O.T., and only the "traditio-historical" method has any value to-day. The author of this book, on the contrary, inclines to agree with Mowinckel, who, while recognizing the services which the "traditio-historical" method can render to O.T. study, maintains that the literary critical method is just as necessary to-day as it ever was (pp. 16, 102 ff.). The O.T., Bentzen says, is to be thought of as "principally" oral, not "purely" so. The importance of the written word in Israel should not be underestimated (p. 105 f.). The views of Engnell repeatedly come under attack (e.g. pp. 17, 23, 96, 101, 155 f., 194, 246). Sometimes, however, agreement with them, in whole or in part, is indicated, as, for example, with his view that the psalms are prior to the prophets (p. 160, n. 5), and that the Wisdom literature had its origin in cultic literature, especially in the literature of the psalms (p. 174). In the discussion of the religious and profane types of literature in the O.T. the difficulty is stressed of making a clear distinction between the two (pp. 123, 144, 146, 232). While, as the author writes, the O.T. "describes Israel's life both on weekdays and holy days", he

concludes that truly profane types are not often to be met with in the O.T. (p. 123). Following Mowinckel, he believes that the Psalms, in their present form, are mostly genuine cult poems, and he notes, with apparent approval, Eissfeldt's opinion that there is no proof of the existence in Israel of religious poetry apart from the cult (p. 165). His attitude to the common oriental cultic pattern is a cautious one (p. 116), as it is also to the distinction between prophetic and priestly oracles (p. 184 f.), and to the question of the abnormal element in the psychological condition of the prophets (pp. 192, 196). He looks at Israel in her Near Eastern setting, and his comparison of O.T. literature with the literatures of Israel's neighbours enables him frequently to discern what is specifically Israelite in the former (pp. 117, 151, 177).

By way of comment on this part of the book, it may be remarked that in matters of interpretation the author's views will not always find easy acceptance. Some doubt cannot but be felt, for example, as to whether he is any more justified in seeing in Ps. xlv "a wedding benediction, spoken by a prophet to the divine king" (pp. 129, 148), than he is in seeing in Ps. ci a poetical form of the oath of the king on the occasion of the covenant between him and the people at the time of his election (p. 210). Again, is it really necessary to see in the use of the imperative by a prophet (e.g. Is. viii, 9 f.; Mic. i, 2 ff.) a form of an incantation song (p. 197 f.)? Nor will his ascription of a kind of magical efficacy to psalms bearing David's name as their author commend itself to everyone (p. 16). And the same may be said of the somewhat similar explanation of *māšāl* from *māšāl* "rule" (so Boström, and here approved), *māšāl* thus being "a sentence spoken by 'rulers', filled with the power of mighty souls" (p. 168).

The reader will, it is hoped, by now have gained some idea of the scope and value of this book. It is not marked by any great degree of originality. The author has, however, read widely, and his book, with its ample bibliographies, should prove useful to students of the O.T. There are numerous misprints, and the style will strike the English reader sometimes as curious. Indices will presumably be provided in the next volume.

D. WINTON THOMAS.

Cambridge.

ALFRED HALDAR. *Associations of Cult Prophets among the Ancient Semites*. Uppsala, 1945. pp. 248.

This thesis for a doctorate at Uppsala University was translated with assistance

from the British Council. It accepts the view of many modern scholars that Old Testament prophets were attached to sanctuaries and were members of associations forming part of the sacral personnel; and beginning from Ancient Mesopotamia and the West Semitic area attempts a comprehensive investigation of the place of prophets and priests as cult figures in the religious pattern of the Near East. There is a chapter on the surviving evidence in Arabic literature about pre-Islamic priestly associations, a short summary under five headings, three indices, a bibliography, and twelve pages of additional notes—as well as a page of fifty-five addenda and corrigenda.

Dr. Halдар's conclusions are that there is the closest correspondence and agreement in many cultural and political details between eastern and north-western Semites, but that the Arabs show more divergence, although the surviving material on pre-Islamic Arab religion does not enable us to depict that religion in much detail. In all three groups there were two main types of divination: (i) by technical oracle methods; (ii) by oracles imparted by priests in a state of ecstasy. Priestly titles often designate a particular function, but there is no clear distinction between sacerdotal and prophetic oracles nor between two sections of the cult personnel: "it follows that the evolutionary view of the O.T. prophets cannot be accepted; instead, as there is no reason to assume that the 'literary' prophets present a phenomenology unlike that of the cult prophets in general, heavy stress must be laid on continuity." The associations are regarded as families issuing from a mythical cult founder who is a sacral king or tribal chieftain; individual members are "brothers", "sons" of the leader "father". They acted as physicians, judges, military leaders, and sometimes played an important political rôle; often they took opposing sides in political controversies, and the victorious party then gave its own colouring to the political, historical, and religious traditions of the past; the "prophetic" books of the Old Testament constitute typical examples of this colouring by the successful party.

In his first chapter, Dr. Halдар discusses the functions of the various types of priestly associations mentioned in Mesopotamian texts and endeavours to discover whether the different names denote different forms of divination. He stresses the importance of omens, notes that *tertu*, equivalent to the Hebrew *torah*, means both "message" and "entrails", and quotes with approval Langdon's remark that we do not know how much of the morality and wisdom of the O.T. prophets came to them through the observation of omens. A basic assumption of the book is that as it is not possible to differentiate between the

functions of the two main types of Mesopotamian priests—the *baru* or seer, and the *mahhu* or ecstatic—so in the O.T. all divinatory personnel, whether priests or prophets, must have belonged to similar associations and cannot be differentiated in function. One cannot avoid the suspicion that it would have been better to give to the book the title "Associations of divinatory priests among the ancient Semites" than to assume from the beginning that there is fundamentally no distinction between priest and prophet. All the Mesopotamian categories discussed are priestly, and it is only possible to arrive at the conclusion that "in Mesopotamia there is no clear distinction between priest and prophet" if we use the word "prophet" to include anyone who communicates the word of the god, or is possessed in any degree by the spirit of the god. Was there no distinction between prophet and priest in the form of possession by the spirit, and in the methods of receiving and of delivering the message? If, however, we avoid this initial identification of prophet and priest, there are many elements in the discussion of the Mesopotamian priestly associations which are of value for the interpretation of O.T. prophetic books, and these are emphasized in the third chapter of Dr. Halдар's book.

The first section of this chapter, dealing with priests and levites, contains much that is ingenious—such as the explanation of Isaiah xxi, 6 ff. as "a description of a divination corporation in action"—and much that will not receive general agreement. Was Moses a mythical royal founder of priestly associations (p. 92)? Does "the priests, the levites" mean "the priests, the consecrated ones", and was "the levites" a term for a category of professional priests associated with the Canaanite cult? Similar questions arise in the second section on "nebi'im". It is difficult to believe that Amos was on the cult staff and that the terms shepherd and herdsman are really a proof that he belonged to a cultic association of diviners. Advocates of a new theory are often in danger of pressing the application of their theory too far, and like Cheyne finding or producing Jerahmeelites everywhere. Nonconformists and protestants are not an unknown phenomena in religion and it is possible that Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah were not "attached to the sanctuary"; perhaps we may even treat seriously their pronouncements against the cult. Because associations of cultic diviners are found, there is no need to press all O.T. prophets into this mould, and it must be emphasized that similar terminology does not prove similarity of rites or of function; technical words can later be used metaphorically. Did Jeremiah mean that he had stood in a "cultic assembly" when he derived his message from "standing in the council of

God"; and must the messenger of Mal. iii, 1, and the bringer of tidings in Isa. lii, 7, be cult functionaries (p. 129)? It is interesting to find "ari'els" interpreted as cult associations of men of God; Jezebel's painting her eyes is to place herself as "the goddess at the window" not to go down as a queen to še'ol; Elisha's shooting of the arrows is not functional symbolism but an act of divination penetrating the future.

Often the writer has to introduce his Mesopotamian evidence with such a phrase as "Unfortunately this class is mentioned rarely in the texts, but we can nevertheless form a clear idea of it"; and his O.T. statements with the words "It is of course difficult to interpret this tradition in detail, but it seems to me certain that the background must be a cultic situation". There is need for a scholar who can sift the evidence adduced from Mesopotamian sources as A. A. Bevan sifted Arabic evidence and who can thus prevent serious disservice being done to O.T. interpretation by the uncritical application of Mesopotamian parallels; nowhere is this critical study more important than in the understanding of the central figures in O.T. religion—the prophets.

J. N. SCHOFIELD.

Cambridge.

Leshonenu ("Our Language"), vol. xvi, pt. 1-2 (in one). Nisan 5708 [1948].

The present number contains two contributions by the editor, Professor N. H. Torczyner. In the first he evolves out of the names for sky a theory about the opinion which the ancient Hebrews held concerning the rain: the sky consisted of waterskins (*nivle shamayim*) which became worn out (*shehaqim*) every autumn and started dripping, until God put a patch (*raqia'*) under them to contain the waters for another year. This idea is mainly found in Job, but traces exist also in other parts of the Bible. In Ezekiel, too, the phrase *rega' beraglekha* does not mean, as hitherto assumed, "stamp thy foot" but "wear patched shoes". In the second article equally revolutionary views are put forward concerning the etymology of some Hebrew words. *Rosh* meant originally "front", as also *panim*; the word *regel* was not the inherited word for "foot" but comes from a Babylonian

rikiltu "fetter" from the root *rks*, and meant the place where an animal is bound. These and many other suggestions are presented with Professor Torczyner's characteristic charm and wit; even if one will often shrink back from accepting them, they cannot fail to be stimulating.

Professor N. Slouschz gives a new translation and commentary of a difficult Neo-Punic inscription first published in 1899. Neo-Punic, the language of Carthage and surrounding districts during Roman times, is of particular interest because it represents a later stage of Phoenician, the language most closely related to Biblical Hebrew, and exhibits some phenomena which recur in Mishnaic Hebrew and even in Modern Hebrew. Professor I. Heinemann concludes his investigations into the origins and development of the technical vocabulary used in early Biblical exegesis. In his final conclusions he states that exegesis in the Midrashic sense cannot be traced before the first century C.E. and only came to its full development in the Amoraic period, during which most of the terminology was evolved. It is a child of the Synagogue. He expressly denies the existence of Midrash proper either in Biblical times or in the time of the Septuagint. This is in sharp contrast to some recent work, e.g. on the LXX of Isaiah, which has uncovered interpretations which bear all the criteria of Midrash. Surely Professor Heinemann would agree that the thought-forms of Midrash existed long before Midrashic activity was developed, institutionalized, and turned into a national pastime. Dr. N. Allony discusses the medieval grammar tag "what has no living soul in it, make masculine or feminine", which is particularly interesting in that it gives guidance for writing Hebrew, not for analysis of the Bible text.

The rest of the volume deals with problems of modern Hebrew. Of special interest is the account by Professor S. D. Goitein of the programme and activities of the "Council for Speech Culture", founded by him and which proposes to work for the improvement of the current pronunciation. An important step towards the standardization of Hebrew is represented by the *Vaad Hallashon's* recommendations for unpointed spelling, which gives at last some guidance on the vexed question of *plene* and *defective* spelling of vowels, and on the writing of foreign words.

C. RABIN.

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